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NINETEENTH-CENTURY

CRAFTSMEN AND TRADESMEN IN HERTFORDSHIRE:

A SPATIAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

STUDY OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY

A THESIS SUBMITTED

IN CANDIDATURE FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

CATHERINE ALICIA CROMPTON B.A.(Victoria), M.Sc.(London)

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NINETEENTH-CENTURY CRAFTSMEN AND TRADESMEN IN HERTFORDSHIRE:
A SPATIAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STUDY OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY

BY

CATHERINE A. CROMPTON

ABSTRACT

This is an exploration of the validity of the generally-accepted belief that rural self-sufficiency declined in Victorian England. Three phases of rural self-sufficiency are identified which follow a chronological sequence. The first is household independence, many basic goods and services are produced within the household: there are a small number of specialised craftsmen and tradesmen within the village, but few, if any, shops. This is followed by decline in household independence, but maintenance of village self-sufficiency with the presence of at least basic specialised crafts and trades and some shops. The final stage is erosion of village self-sufficiency: loss of essential services, leading to hierarchical dependence on services provided by towns.

The main data sources used are the unpublished census enumerators' books and the trade directories. Their validity as primary sources is assessed in the context of their suitability for macro- and micro-level studies of rural crafts and trades.

Rural service provision over time is explored, initially, at the county level, then focusing on two agricultural areas containing 31 parishes. The status of craftsmen and tradesmen within their local communities is

examined in two self-sufficient villages, St. Paul's Walden and Much Hadham.

The county-wide study showed that a significant proportion of Hertfordshire villages retained their self-sufficiency in basic crafts and trades at least until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Self-sufficiency was the predominant system of rural service provision in villages in the Buntingford area from the mid-nineteenth century until at least the 1890s. In contrast, the predominant system of rural service provision in villages in the Stevenage area changed from self-sufficiency at mid-century to hierarchical dependence on central villages and neighbouring towns by the 1890s.

The study of individual craftsmen and tradesmen revealed evidence of declining economic status and downward social mobility among craftsmen and tradesmen in both the parishes examined in detail.

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SELF-SUFFICIENCY: A BAROMETER OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY?

Self-sufficiency can be defined as the ability 'to provide or support oneself without the aid of others' (Collins' Dictionary),¹ or 'requiring nothing from without' (Chambers' Dictionary).² If these definitions are considered in the context of rural settlements, the former suggests that a self-sufficient rural settlement would be self-supporting in the provision of basic services. The latter definition implies being totally self-supporting. This could apply only to a totally closed community, where all activities take place within the community including government, employment of the occupied population, selection of marriage partners, and production and consumption of all goods and services. No nineteenth-century English rural community was self-sufficient in Chambers' sense, and therefore, Collins' broader definition of self-sufficiency is considered to be more appropriate here.

Clearly, self-sufficiency can exist in a number of forms: social self-sufficiency, political self-sufficiency, economic self-sufficiency. The purpose of the research on which this thesis is based is to explore some facets of rural self-sufficiency in nineteenth-century England and how these changed over time. A particular aspect of rural self-sufficiency which has engaged the attention of contemporary observers and modern historians is that of self-sufficiency in basic crafts and trades, that is, those occupations that

¹ Collins Dictionary of the English Language, 1983.

² Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, 1983.

provided goods and services essential to day-to-day living within the rural community. Self-sufficiency was viewed as an indicator of rural prosperity--we shall test this idea. An alternative to self-sufficiency was hierarchical dependence on towns, that is, the dependence of villages on nearby towns for the provision of many essential services as well as higher-order services such as those of professionals and specialist traders.

Self-sufficiency in employment went hand in hand with self-sufficiency in terms of basic goods and services. The village provided employment for its inhabitants: farmers worked land in the parish or adjoining parishes, employing farm workers who formed the largest group in the rural population, and craftsmen and tradesmen provided the essential services. Loss of self-sufficiency in terms of providing employment was also of concern to contemporary observers. Rural depopulation towards the end of the nineteenth century was a symptom of the failure of the rural community to provide full employment with a living wage for all the working population.

There are a number of complementary approaches to the study of rural service provision over time: geographical, chronological, sociological, anthropological, and economic. These are surveyed in Chapter 2. Each of these approaches has been used to analyse rural self-sufficiency during the nineteenth century.

The study area is the county of Hertford. This county area was selected because it is of a sufficient size to be valid for studies within the framework of central place theory, yet small enough to be manageable in terms of data processing. During the twentieth century, Hertfordshire has been a boom county with regard to population growth, becoming a county of new towns: Letchworth Garden City, Stevenage, Welwyn Garden City, Hatfield, Hemel Hempstead, and numerous suburbs. The population increased at a faster rate in post-war Hertfordshire than in any other county in England and Wales.³ Much of this growth resulted from 'overspill' population from London itself.

However, the situation was very different in the nineteenth century. Up to the early 1900s, Hertfordshire remained predominantly agricultural but, nevertheless, it included a large enough number of villages to permit meaningful numerical and statistical analysis. There was a sufficient mix of 'open' and 'closed' villages to enable comparison of the service provision for the various types of village, although there was only a small number of 'closed' villages.⁴ A discussion of the role played by the county during the nineteenth century is contained in Chapter 3.

Several different primary sources have been consulted to obtain the necessary data and an evaluation of these is provided in Chapter 4.

³ R. E. Pahl, Urbs in rure, London School of Economics and Political Science Geographical Papers No. 2, 1970, 27.

⁴ The open/closed village model is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

Because we are concerned in this thesis with the extent to which villages were able to supply rural dwellers with goods and services, independent of the towns, it is necessary to distinguish rural from urban settlements in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire. A discussion of the various approaches to rurality and a classification of the settlements is contained in Chapter 5.

Rural self-sufficiency was generally considered to be desirable in the nineteenth century. Chapter 6 surveys the comments of observers and historians who were concerned by the decline of rural service provision in Victorian times. G.E. Mingay encapsulates these as follows:

The old independence of the countryside and its near self-sufficiency was whittled away by the growth of the town-based dealers who brought round their factory-made bread and clothing, their branded groceries and railway-carried fish. Town emporiums [*sic*] drove the village craftsmen out of business, unless they could survive by turning to some new specialisation, like the wheelwrights and blacksmiths who made agricultural implements and still thrived on the continued importance of the horse and cart or pony and trap. The larger villages, however, saw their once large array of crafts and trades decline to a mere handful.⁵

A number of basic statements about rural self-sufficiency are implied here. Firstly, self-sufficiency was viewed as an established characteristic of rural settlements in pre-Victorian times. Secondly, the range of village-based services decreased or changed in form over time. Thirdly,

⁵ G. E. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, Vol. 1, 8.

the number of self-sufficient villages declined. Aspects of each of these are explored in this thesis.

Decline in self-sufficiency was believed to be related to decline in the rural economy and to increased trading links with towns and settlements further afield, made more accessible by the expansion of the railway network. Traditionally, rural settlements had trading links with the local market town which was the recipient of agricultural produce from the countryside and village, either to be consumed by town dwellers, or to be sold to dealers in the specialised markets for consumption in larger towns and cities such as London. In return, the village obtained raw materials or items such as salt or sugar, which were unavailable from sources in the village community itself. During the nineteenth century, trading links between town and village became less reciprocal. There was a greater flow of goods into the village via the railway, items which formerly had been produced locally in the rural community by village craftsmen and tradesmen. After the agricultural depression of the 1870s, there was often a reduced flow of agricultural produce from the village as the era of 'high farming', which extended from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1870s, ended.

A geographical approach is used in Chapters 6 and 7 to explore the various assertions implied in Mingay's statement cited above, using the concepts of central place theory--in particular the threshold population of a good. A detailed definition of rural self-sufficiency, and the various forms

it can take, is introduced in Chapter 6. This is applied to individual villages in the second half of the nineteenth century to determine what, if any, form of self-sufficiency existed in Hertfordshire villages in the Victorian period and the extent to which this can be regarded as having been valid as an indicator of rural prosperity.

In addition to the basic goods and services considered essential to rural self-sufficiency, there were a number of other non-essential crafts and trades found in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire villages. Chapter 7 contains a discussion of the range of services present in the villages and a more detailed analysis of the common, non-essential rural crafts and trades.

Weekley has used a systems approach to identify ~~predominant systems of rural service provision in the~~ ~~twentieth century in sets of contiguous rural parishes.~~ He identified three systems of rural service provision: segregation or self-sufficiency, lateral interdependence and hierarchical dependence.⁶ Weekley also postulated a chronological progression, from self-sufficiency through to hierarchical dependence, with some lateral interdependence operating at each stage.

In Chapter 8, Weekley's ideas are applied to two agricultural regions in Hertfordshire, one in the north, and one in the east. The villages comprising the study areas

⁶ I.G. Weekley, 'Lateral interdependence as an aspect of rural service provision: a Northamptonshire case study,' East Midlands Geographer, Vol. 6, 1977, 361-374.

were selected on the basis of land usage as recorded in the Board of Trade 1866 Abstract of Schedules for Returns of Acreages of Crops. This was done to approximate, as far as possible, a homogeneous population: because the primary economic activity in both areas was arable farming, similarity of land usage was assumed to indicate similarity of population. However, the two study areas experienced differing economic development during the nineteenth century. The eastern area, which surrounded the market town of Buntingford, suffered greater depopulation and economic stagnation than the northern area centred on Stevenage. The latter area experienced some suburbanisation during the progression of the century and fared somewhat better economically.

Chapter 9 examines craftsmen and tradesmen within two self-sufficient rural communities, Much Hadham, in the Buntingford area, and St. Paul's Walden in the Stevenage area. Movement of craftsmen and tradesmen and their households in and out of the parish is considered in addition to their household structures, lifecycle characteristics and continuity of their occupations.

The pattern of landownership is considered in these two settlements. It is predicted that self-sufficient villages had more characteristics of 'open' villages than 'closed' villages and this is explored in Chapter 10 in relation to the two study settlements. The potential for self-sufficiency, as defined in Chapter 6, is discussed in

relation to the land occupation patterns of craftsmen and tradesmen.

The findings from these complementary approaches are synthesised and resultant trends are discussed in Chapter 11.

RURAL SERVICE PROVISION: A REFLECTION OF VILLAGE LIFE

Rural Crafts and Trades

The nineteenth century saw far-reaching social, economic and technological changes throughout much of Britain. These changes were manifest most dramatically in the new industrial regions, but their effects were also felt in those areas that managed to retain their rural characteristics throughout much of the period. Innovation in manufacturing, food processing, transport and communications affected such basic economic activities as the provision of essential goods and services to village dwellers.

TABLE 1.--Numbers employed in selected crafts and trades, England and Wales.
(000s)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Carpenter/ joiner	138.5	154.1	178.0	205.8	235.2	221.0	270.7
Blacksmith	82.2	94.8	108.2	112.5	112.5	140.0	136.8
Wheelwright	25.2	28.0	30.1	30.3	28.7	28.0	28.9
Saddler	14.1	15.1	18.2	23.0	23.9	27.3	30.7
Grocer/draper/ shopkeeper	88.5	138.7	165.7	225.4	267.0	342.5	380.8
Publican/beer seller	58.9	69.4	82.0	93.4	86.7	95.6	99.9
Baker	37.1	51.7	54.1	59.1	71.0	84.2	148.9
Butcher	45.5	62.2	68.1	75.8	81.7	98.9	109.0
Miller	22.6	32.5	32.1	30.1	28.0	26.6	23.6
Bootmaker	187.9	240.3	250.6	223.4	216.6	248.8	218.6
Tailor	108.9	132.7	136.4	149.9	160.6	208.7	237.2
Builder	8.6	12.4	15.8	23.3	30.7	37.8	40.4
Bricklayer	39.4	67.1	79.5	99.9	125.1	130.4	116.0
Carrier	26.5	43.7	67.7	74.2	125.3	170.3	273.0

Source: Census Reports as follows.

For 1841: Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to Acts 3 and 4 Vict. c. 99 and 4 Vict. c. 7, for taking an account of the population of Great Britain; occupation abstract, 1841: Part I, England and Wales, and islands in the British Seas, Parliamentary Paper, 1844, c. 587-588, XXVII, pages 31-44.

For 1851: Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables, Part II. Ages, civil condition, occupations and birth-places of the people; with the numbers and ages of the blind, the deaf-and-dumb, and the inmates of workhouses, prisons, lunatic asylums and

TABLE 1.--Continued.

hospitals. Vol. I, Report; results and observations; appendix of tabular results and summary tables; England and Wales. Parliamentary Paper, 1852-3, c. 1691-I, LXXVIII, Part I, 1, Table 53, page cxxi.

For 1861: Census of England and Wales, 1861. Population Tables, Vol. II. Ages, civil condition, occupations and birth-places of the people; with the numbers and ages of the blind, the deaf-and-dumb, and the inmates of workhouses, prisons, lunatic asylums and hospitals. Parliamentary Paper, 1863, c.3221, LIII, Part I, 265- and Part II, 1. Table XVII, Pages xxxi-xxxix.

For 1871: Census of England and Wales, 1871. Population Tables. Vol. III. Population Abstracts: Ages, civil condition, occupations and birth-places of the people; with the numbers and ages of the blind, the deaf-and-dumb, imbecile, lunatics, etc. Summary Tables. Parliamentary Paper, 1873, c. 872, LXXI, Part I, Table XVIII-XIX, pages xviii-xix.

For 1881: Census of England and Wales, 1881. Vol. III. Ages, condition as to marriage, occupations and birth-places of the people, Parliamentary Paper, 1883, c. 3722, LXXX, 1, pages xviii-xxiii.

For 1891: Census of England and Wales, 1891. Vol. III. Ages, condition as to marriage, occupations and birth-places, and infirmities, Parliamentary Paper, 1893-4, c. 7058, CVI, 1, Table 6, pages xxvi-xxxi.

For 1901: Census of England and Wales, 1901. Summary Tables (England and Wales), Area, houses and population; also population classified by ages, condition as to marriage, occupations, birthplaces and infirmities, Parliamentary Paper, 1903, c. 1523, LXXXIV, 1, Table XXXVI, pages 202-208.

In England and Wales as a whole, the individual crafts and trades which provided essential goods and services to both town and village dwellers experienced varied growth. Table 1 shows the numbers employed in England and Wales for each of a selection of crafts and trades commonly found in rural areas for the period 1841-1901. Although the numbers employed in each of the occupations were greater in 1901 than in 1801, there were fluctuations in numbers for some crafts and trades. For example, the number of blacksmiths reached a peak in 1891, wheelwrights in 1871, millers in 1851 and bootmakers in 1861.

Comparison of the growth in numbers employed with the overall growth in the population of England and Wales shows that the increase in numbers employed in six occupations did not keep pace with population growth: carpenter/joiner, blacksmith, wheelwright, publican/beer seller, miller and

bootmaker (Table 2). Although the census reports do not distinguish between rural craftsmen and tradesmen and their urban counterparts, it is generally accepted that the relative decrease in these occupations occurred primarily in rural areas rather than in the towns. Chartres and Turnbull have found that 'in many places the incidence of country crafts per thousand of population fell from 1851.'¹

TABLE 2.--Population per unit service, England and Wales.

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Carpenter/ joiner	115	115	113	110	110	131	120
Blacksmith	194	189	186	202	231	207	238
Wheelwright	631	640	667	749	904	1038	1125
Saddler	1129	1184	1101	987	1088	1062	1060
Grocer/draper/ shopkeeper	180	129	121	101	97	85	85
Publican/beer seller	270	258	245	243	300	303	326
Baker	428	347	371	385	366	345	218
Butcher	350	288	295	299	318	293	298
Miller	704	551	625	756	928	1090	1378
Bootmaker	85	75	80	102	120	117	149
Tailor	146	135	147	152	162	139	137
Builder	1860	1449	1273	975	846	767	806
Bricklayer	404	267	253	227	208	222	280
Carrier	601	410	297	306	207	170	119

Source: Census Reports as follows.
Occupation figures as for Table 1.
Population figures: Census of England and Wales, 1901. Summary Tables. Area, houses and population. Also population classified by ages, condition as to marriage, occupations, birthplaces and infirmities, Parliamentary Paper, 1903, c. 1523, LXXXIV, 1, Table 1, page 1.

Food trades grew more rapidly than the total population during the century as communications and living standards improved. Shopkeepers and bakers had been well-established in rural areas since at least the later decades of the

¹ J.A. Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen' in The Victorian Countryside, G.E. Mingay, ed., Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, 300-312; and J.A. Chartres and G.L. Turnbull, 'Country Craftsmen' in The Victorian Countryside, 314-327.

eighteenth century². Markets continued to be an important component of retail trade, while the importance of fairs declined during the nineteenth century, although the hiring fair was still a necessary feature of the rural economy.

Villagers acquired such basic necessities as groceries, cloth and household goods from travelling packmen or by visiting the local market town. Pedlars sold fancy goods and pots, while carriers delivered newspapers and necessary town goods. Many essential services were provided within the village itself; everyday foodstuffs were often made at home, cloth was made up by the local dressmaker or tailor, while the village shoemaker provided footwear. A barter economy operated generally to exchange surplus fruit and vegetables. In marked contrast to other rural craftsmen and tradesmen, in many areas ~~the general shopkeeper was often a~~ woman, usually a widow.³ Although the carrier was a cheaper source of supplies than the village shop, the latter often had a more powerful commercial influence through the extension of credit to financially hard-pressed villagers.

The town and country carrier was vital to the development of rural retailing in the nineteenth century. The carrier had three main functions. Probably the most important was the transport of goods, including agricultural produce, from country producers to market. He also acted as

² Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, Shops and shopkeeping in eighteenth century England, Routledge, 1989, 148-159.

³ J. Benson, 'Enterprise past and present' in History Today, Vol. 39, August 1989, 5-6.

a shopping agent for country people and provided a cheap means of passenger conveyance to and from the towns on market days. The number of carriers recorded in the decennial censuses increased absolutely and relatively during the nineteenth century (Tables 1 and 2). The establishment of the railway network by the second half of the nineteenth century acted as a further stimulus to the local carrier network. Chartres related the spread of general shopkeepers to the growth of the carrier network.⁴

The village innkeeper, publican or beerseller may have been the earliest of the retail trades to become established in rural areas. There were three categories of enterprise. The most prestigious were the coaching inns which declined after the collapse of the coaching industry in the 1840s and 1850s, although the village inn or public house continued and serviced the local horse-drawn traffic. The village inn was the social and commercial centre of the village and publicans, like shopkeepers, often extended credit to local residents and hosted friendly societies. Beerhouses served the lower classes. Although inns and beerhouses usually brewed their own ale, brewing as an industry became more centralised and public houses increasingly became tied to large breweries in nearby towns and regional centres.

There was a difference in kind between crafts and trades: a greater level of skill was usually required in the

⁴ J.A. Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen,' 303. Also, W.T.R. Pryce, 'Towns and their regional settings' in From family history to community history, Cambridge University Press in association with The Open University, 1994, 121-142.

craft occupations. The nineteenth century craftsmen was usually male, and began his working life as an apprentice. After completing his apprenticeship he usually worked as a journeyman. If fortunate, he eventually acquired an enterprise as a self-employed or master craftsman. A period of training and some capital outlay were usually required for entry to the craft occupations.⁵ The amount of capital involved varied from a small sum for the tools of the bootmaker, for example, to relatively substantial amounts for the tools and premises of the blacksmith, wheelwright or clock maker. Although there was an element of retailing associated with the craft occupations, the skill was mainly associated with manufacturing the product: boots, vehicles, agricultural implements, or domestic long-case clocks.

Retailing was the main function of the trades. Entry to trade occupations was usually easier and it was not always necessary to serve an apprenticeship. Beer retailing was often the first step up the social ladder for the agricultural labourer and this trade was frequently combined with working the land as a day labourer. Rural shopkeeping was often a low status trade.

Robin classified the craftsmen and tradesmen of Elmdon, an Essex village, into two groups. Groups i and ii comprised major tradesmen and craftsmen and minor tradesmen and craftsmen respectively. Group i included self-employed

⁵ See for example, the entry conditions for apprentices to clock-making in W.T.R. Pryce and T.A. Davis, Samuel Roberts clock maker: an eighteenth-century craftsman in a Welsh rural community. Cardiff National Museum of Wales, 1985, 39-40.

or master craftsmen and tradesmen, schoolmistresses, and male head servants in private households. Group ii contained employees of small businesses, lesser tradesman and craftsmen, and those with lower positions in private households. These groups exhibited distinct differences in their selection of marriage partners, as indicated by the parish marriage registers. More than three-quarters in group i married spouses of equivalent standing, while only one-quarter in group ii did so. The great majority in group ii married downwards, into the labouring population. Group i therefore formed a distinct social class within the village, of higher status than group ii. Members of group i were prepared to choose a spouse from further afield than those of group ii.⁶ However, the numbers of individuals in each group were too small to permit the application of inferential statistics: (18 in group i, 9 in group ii). The study suggests that there was a range of different statuses among craftsmen and tradesmen, in particular that there was a discernible social difference between employees and the self-employed or master craftsman or tradesman.

Generally, the craft occupations were more adversely affected than the trades by changing economic conditions, as indicated by the increasing numbers of population per unit service shown in Table 2. However, the effects varied between regions. Hallas has emphasised the 'isolation of the area and the consequent high cost of importing factory products' as a significant factor 'which enabled craftsmen

⁶ J. Robin, Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village: 1861-1964, Cambridge University Press, 1980, 148-9.

[in the Wensleydale and Swaledale regions of Yorkshire] to continue in business long after their counterparts in more accessible parts of the countryside had succumbed to competition from mass produced goods.' ⁷

The horse was the basis for the local transport system and many village crafts provided services to transport. Horse-based crafts included the farriers (reclassified in the census as veterinary surgeons towards the end of the nineteenth century), blacksmiths and shoeing smiths, saddlers, harness makers and wheelwrights. The horse population reached its peak in England and Wales c.1901 and none of the related crafts exhibited absolute decline during the nineteenth century, although the numbers of blacksmiths and wheelwrights declined locally relative to the general population.

The tasks of the blacksmith also included making and repairing farm machinery, which involved welding and tool-making. Similarly, wheelwrights were required to make and repair wheels, carts and wagons. Typically, the wheelwright was also a carpenter, and sometimes also cooper, millwright or undertaker. Although wheelwrights and carpenters performed similar functions, wheelwrights had a higher status than carpenters.

Considerable overlap developed over time between village-based crafts and local manufacturing industries.

⁷ C. Hallas, 'Craft occupations in the late nineteenth century: some local considerations,' in Local Population Studies, No. 44, Spring 1990, 18-29, 28.

The latter included building and quarrying, cloth making, leather tanning, shoemaking and brewing. In the early 1800s, village malthouses and breweries were common. Local industries became more centralised as the century progressed, concentrating in specialised locations in just a few local villages or in nearby towns.

The development of specialised local crafts was greatly dependent on the availability of natural resources. Thus, land bearing timber locally supported a variety of woodworking crafts. The number of coopers declined in England and Wales from 1871 as a consequence of the increased use of machine tools and galvanised iron products. The occupations of thinning, cutting, clearing, planting, fencing, thatching, and the manufacture of hurdles, gates, hubs, barrels, hoops, spars and brushes also declined during the nineteenth century.⁸ In rural districts, straw, rush, cane or willow crafts were common. Straw bonnets were made for horses. Straw-plaiting and lace-making were major domestic industries in some areas, locally employing large numbers of women and children.

Some crafts and trades served a wider market than the immediate locality, for example, the clothing and leather trades. The leather crafts, including shoemaking, were often a putting-out or by-employment rather than an independent craft serving purely local markets. In contrast, there were some crafts for which there was

⁸ Decennial census reports, 1801-1901. For complete references, see Table 1.

insufficient local demand to sustain a permanent resident craftsman, resulting in the itinerant or semi-itinerant craftsman such as the whitesmith. An alternative reaction to low demand for a particular craft or trade was the growth of multi-occupations. In this way, some of the more specialised occupations could be sustained by a lower threshold population⁹. A second occupation was also a means of supplementing a meagre income in addition to the income from the main source of employment. Thus, many farm workers supplemented their meagre income by the adoption of a subsidiary occupation in the trade sector, such as beer retailing, or undertaking work as carriers (horse and cart work).

Rural Service Provision and Economic Change

Agricultural output per man had risen substantially in the early nineteenth century, partly as a result of increasing specialisation in function.¹⁰ Greater specialisation acted as a stimulus to demand for the services of those trades which served the entire rural community: the tailor, baker, butcher and shopkeeper. Increasingly these were called upon to provide goods and services which were formerly produced at home by members of the household. In contrast, there do not appear to have been major increases in productivity per man in the rural crafts and trades where tools and methods

⁹ See notes 24 and 25 for examples of calculations of threshold populations.

¹⁰ E.A. Wrigley, 'Men on the land and men in the countryside: Employment in agriculture in early nineteenth century England' in The world we have gained: histories of population and social structure, L. Bonfield, R.M. Smith, and K. Wrightson, eds., Basil Blackwell, 1986, 297.

of working changed very little during the nineteenth century.

Increasingly, from the 1850s, as numbers employed in agriculture stagnated, surplus labour was likely to be attracted to the rural service sector.¹¹ Crafts and trades that exhibited the greatest overcrowding were those with greatest ease of entry: carpentry, tailoring and shoemaking.¹² Occupations such as builder, saddler, or clock maker, which required capital for equipment and premises, strict apprenticeship regulations or a level of book-learning, attracted fewer entrants.

The agricultural depression from the 1870s profoundly affected the provision of rural services, the demand for which was bound up with the fortunes of the local agricultural economy. The reactions of the craftsmen and tradesmen themselves to their declining fortunes varied. There were some craft and trade dynasties whose operation encompassed a number of different outlets, often sited in several villages, such as the Fordham family of brewers in Hertfordshire. In some areas, increasing competition led to the emergence of dominant firms who took an increasing share of business, particularly in the building and milling trades.¹³ Individual small master craftsmen and tradesmen may have responded to difficult economic conditions by

¹¹ Ibid., 296-7.

¹² B. Kerr, Bound to the soil: A social history of Dorset 1750-1918, John Baker, 1968, 133.

¹³ B.J. Davey, Ashwell 1830-1914: The decline of a village community, Leicester University Press, 1980, 55-56.

engaging in one or more subsidiary occupations such as farming or beer retailing, or by moving and setting up in new enterprises elsewhere.

Lawton has observed that 'migration from rural areas was universal' in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ It is generally accepted that rural depopulation led to a decline in demand for rural goods and services and this, in turn, resulted in a decrease in the number of craftsmen and tradesmen to such an extent that these left rural areas in greater numbers than did the farm workers.¹⁵ Davey has suggested that rural depopulation was greatest in the larger villages which contained most of the rural crafts and trades.¹⁶

However, Schurer has pointed out that migration within rural areas was a long-established phenomenon by the nineteenth century and that the process was two-way. He suggests that the significance of nineteenth century rural depopulation was 'not so much an increased tendency for people to move out of a parish, but rather a decreased tendency for people to move into the parish.'¹⁷ Therefore, he sees the prime cause of rural depopulation in the

¹⁴ R. Lawton, 'Rural depopulation in nineteenth century England' in English rural communities: the impact of a specialised economy, D.R. Mills, ed., MacMillan, 1973, 195-219, 208.

¹⁵ Ibid., 215.

¹⁶ Davey, Ashwell, 55.

¹⁷ K. Schurer, 'The role of the family in the process of migration' in Migrants, emigrants and immigrants: A social history of migration, C.G. Pooley and I.D. Whyte, eds., Routledge, 1991, 114.

nineteenth century as a change in the direction of migration flows. His analysis of outmigration of families of craftsmen and tradesmen from Essex villages showed that the proportions migrating were similar to those for farmers and farm labourers and were increasing over time, although, as in Robin's study, the numbers of craft family heads studied were too small to allow statistical analysis, especially when classified by age of household head.¹⁸

Village studies provide valuable insight into the movements of individual craftsmen and their place in the rural community. Robin found that half the rural service providers came from outside the village¹⁹ and that the rural craftsmen were among the most vulnerable to worsening economic conditions.²⁰

Geographical Aspects of Rural Service Provision

Central place theory is the theoretical framework underlying a number of studies of rural service provision. Although Christaller's exposition of classical central place theory excludes villages, the notions of a settlement hierarchy, central and dispersed goods, and of the range and threshold

¹⁸ Ibid., 127.

¹⁹ Robin, Elmdon, 7.

²⁰ Ibid., 132.

of a good may be studied at the level of the village.²¹

Bracey extended the scope of central place theory to include villages in the settlement hierarchy by constructing a hierarchy of twentieth-century villages based on the number of shops in each village.²² By analysing the settlement hierarchy for villages, Bracey identified central villages, those which supplied rural services to other villages which were lacking in services. Central villages were often decayed market towns or the site of ancient or medieval castles or important churches and are often located some distance from market towns, as central place theory predicts. Villages in close proximity to a market town have less potential for developing a wide range of services.

Christaller originally associated the concepts of the range and threshold of a good with goods and services to be found in towns. However, these concepts may be readily extended to include dispersed goods and services, that is, those goods and services produced in villages, and which cater for purely local demand. The range of a good is the

²¹ W. Christaller, Central places in southern Germany, translated by C.W. Baskin, Prentice-Hall, 1966. For a discussion of central place theory in the context of past times, see W.T.R. Pryce, 'Towns and their regional settings' in W.T.R. Pryce (ed.), From family to community history, Cambridge University Press in association with The Open University, 1994, 121-142. Also H. Carter, An Introduction to urban historical geography, London: Edward Arnold, 1983; H. Carter and C.R. Lewis, An urban geography of England and Wales in the nineteenth century, London: Edward Arnold, 1990.

²² H.E. Bracey, 'English central villages, identification, distribution and functions' in Proceedings of the International Geographical Union Symposium in Urban Geography, K. Norborg, ed., University of Lund, 1962, 169-190.

greatest distance the dispersed population is willing to travel to obtain the good and conversely may also include the greatest distance the service provider is prepared to travel to offer the service.

Chartres and Turnbull have broadened Christaller's definition of the threshold population of a central good to include dispersed village goods and services.²³ In so doing, they assumed implicitly the notion of centrality of rural services and the observation that the incidence of rural service providers is usually in direct proportion to the population size of a settlement. The threshold population, the smallest population which can provide sufficient demand to provide a livelihood for the service provider, is unique for each good or service.

The threshold population of a village-based good or service is defined to be the midpoint of all villages possessing the service plus the midpoint of all villages lacking the service.²⁴ In a later work, Chartres modified

²³ Chartres, 'Country tradesmen,' 303-4 and Chartres and Turnbull, 'Country craftsmen,' 320-2.

²⁴ Ibid. For example, in a selection of four adjacent villages with populations of 200, 300, 500 and 1,000 respectively, if the first two villages do not possess a service and the last two villages do possess the service, the threshold population is calculated as follows.

Total population possessing the service is 1,500.

Mean population possessing the service is 750.

Total population without the service is 500.

Mean population without the service is 250.

Threshold population = midpoint between 750 and 250
 $= (750+250)/2$

his definition of threshold population to be the mean population of the largest village lacking the service and the smallest village possessing the service.²⁵ The earlier definition is used throughout this thesis for ease of comparison with Chartres' earlier research.

Chartres and Turnbull calculated threshold populations for a range of rural services for areas of contiguous rural parishes in Norfolk and the North Riding of Yorkshire for the years 1836 and 1879 respectively. Although the threshold population sizes varied between the two areas, the rank order of threshold populations was similar. The ranked threshold populations indicate the importance of the various services in village life; the lower the threshold population, the smaller the population required to sustain demand for the good or service, and the more vital is the service to the rural community. For both regions, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, shopkeepers and publicans had lower thresholds than saddlers in the nineteenth century.

Marked changes in the ranked order of threshold populations over time would indicate general changes in the

= 500.

²⁵ J.A. Chartres, 'Country trades, crafts and professions' in The agrarian history of England and Wales, Vol. 6, 1750-1850, G.E. Mingay, ed., J. Thirsk, gen. ed., Cambridge University Press, 1989, 416-66. Using the example of Note 24, the threshold population of the service using this definition is calculated as follows.

Population of smallest village with the service = 500.

Population of largest village without the service
= 300.

Threshold population = mean of 500 and 300
= 400.

rural economy and reflect the different rates of growth or decay of individual village-based goods and services. An increase over time in the threshold population of a good or service relative to other goods and services would represent increasing centrality of the service, that is, the good or service is increasingly to be found only in the larger villages.

Within central place theory, as mentioned earlier, a dynamic systems approach has provided another dimension to the study of the provision of rural services. Weekley has studied systems of contiguous twentieth-century rural areas to discover how modern villagers obtained their goods and services.²⁶ He formulated the concepts of service catchment and lateral interdependence to provide an alternative perspective to the notions of hinterland and hierarchical dependence. The service catchment was defined as the area from which a villager obtains goods and services. This concept may be applied at any level of rural settlement down to the level of individual households. He described three systems of rural service provision. Lateral interdependence occurs between villages when neighbouring villages, which individually may not have a large enough population to support a full range of essential goods and services, each specialise in a narrower range of essential services for their mutual benefit. Segregation occurs where the villages

²⁶ I.G. Weekley, 'The vicinal population: A study of the structure of village economies,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976; and 'Lateral interdependence as an aspect of rural service provision: a Northamptonshire case study' in East Midland Geographer, Vol. 6, 361-374.

in the system are predominantly self-sufficient.

Hierarchical dependence is the system where the villages are dependent for their goods and services on central villages or the neighbouring market towns.

Weekley described how rural services would be distributed where each of the three systems of rural service provision, segregation, lateral interdependence, and hierarchical dependence predominated.

An hierarchical system requires a disproportionate clustering of services in certain centres vis-a-vis their population and a parallel dearth of such facilities in the dependent areas. A segregated structure would presuppose a fairly even distribution of services in relation to population and a fairly common mix of service provision. The larger villages would have a greater service provision than the smaller, but not disproportionately so. In a laterally interdependent structure, the pattern would perhaps fall between these two hypothetical extremes. There would be an uneven distribution in relation to population, but it would not be a direct function of size and the service mix might well differ markedly amongst places of similar service-unit provision.²⁷

Weekley postulated a historical sequence for the predominant system of village service provision, from self-sufficiency or segregation, to later hierarchical dependence of villages on the towns as village-based services were eroded, with some lateral interdependence in operation throughout the sequence.

Some villages may have had populations which were too small to support a full range of services, however, with lateral interdependence as a supplementary system, small groups of villages could achieve self-sufficiency in rural

²⁷ Weekley, 'Lateral interdependence,' 366.

services as a group. Wrigley's study of the 1831 census revealed that the 'geographical dispersion of retail trade and handicraft showed a near constant share of total employment down to the level of the individual hundred.'²⁸ This constant proportion conforms to Weekley's system of segregation, on the scale of systems of villages, for the 1830s.

However, there is some debate over the timing of loss of rural self-sufficiency in terms of the distribution of goods and services in rural areas. Glennie has used the Hertfordshire militia lists for 1759 to reconstruct the distribution of crafts and services in the county. He argues that such crafts and trades as baker, tailor, carpenter and boot and shoe maker, enjoyed a wider distribution in rural settlements in the eighteenth century than in the nineteenth century.²⁹ This suggests that erosion of village self-sufficiency in some goods and services may have occurred in Hertfordshire earlier than the nineteenth century. At the other extreme, Hallas has shown in a study of nineteenth century Wensleydale and Swaledale that there were enclaves of rural craftsmen and tradesmen in remote rural areas who were able to survive into the twentieth century despite the introduction of the railways and the increasing availability of mass-produced goods in the country as a whole.³⁰ The decline of rural service

²⁸ Wrigley, 'Men on the land,' 297.

²⁹ P.D. Glennie, 'A commercialising agrarian region, late medieval and early modern Hertfordshire,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1983, 167.

³⁰ Hallas, 'Craft occupations,' 28.

providers is by no means a straightforward retreat from the villages to concentrate in the towns and much can be gained by exploring regional and distinctively local patterns.

The pattern of landownership in rural areas had an important influence on employment opportunities in nineteenth century rural England, including those in service occupations. The prevailing attitudes of large rural landowners helped to shape the settlement characteristics of villages and, consequently, the resulting village economic activity. If the pattern of landownership is taken as a basic criterion, villages may be positioned along a continuum from open villages, at one extreme, to closed villages at the other end. These characteristic features are described in detail by Mills.³¹

Open villages had no single dominant landlord and had greater potential for larger populations and higher population densities than closed villages. Closed villages, in contrast, tended to have smaller populations which were often strictly regulated by a single large landowner who restricted settlement within the village to workers on the land and those engaged in a few essential services, such as the public house, a shop, or the estate carpenters. Often, estate carpenters were employees of the landowner. Day labour and service provision were obtained from neighbouring open villages. Open villages, therefore, provided greater opportunity for self-employed rural craftsmen and tradesmen

³¹ D.R. Mills, Lord and peasant in nineteenth-century Britain, Croom Helm, 1980.

to set up in business and to supply goods and services to both their own villages and to accessible closed villages.

The open/closed village model has predictive value and, in some respects, can indicate the service potential of a given village or group of villages at a greater level of detail than classical central place theory. Rural service provision is not included within the scope of classical central place theory: only the urban hierarchy and associated goods and services are explicitly analysed within the theory. Closely bound up with the open/closed model are the social and economic status of the rural service provider. Mills has defined a peasant in a nineteenth century village as being

any self-employed man below the rank of the large tenant farmers and the yeomen (i.e. the large owner-occupier farmers). Unlike the labourer, he did not rely entirely on wages and unlike the higher groups, he did not rely mainly on directing the work of others. His living was obtained by virtue of a combination of a modest amount of capital with family labour and, in some instances, hired help.³²

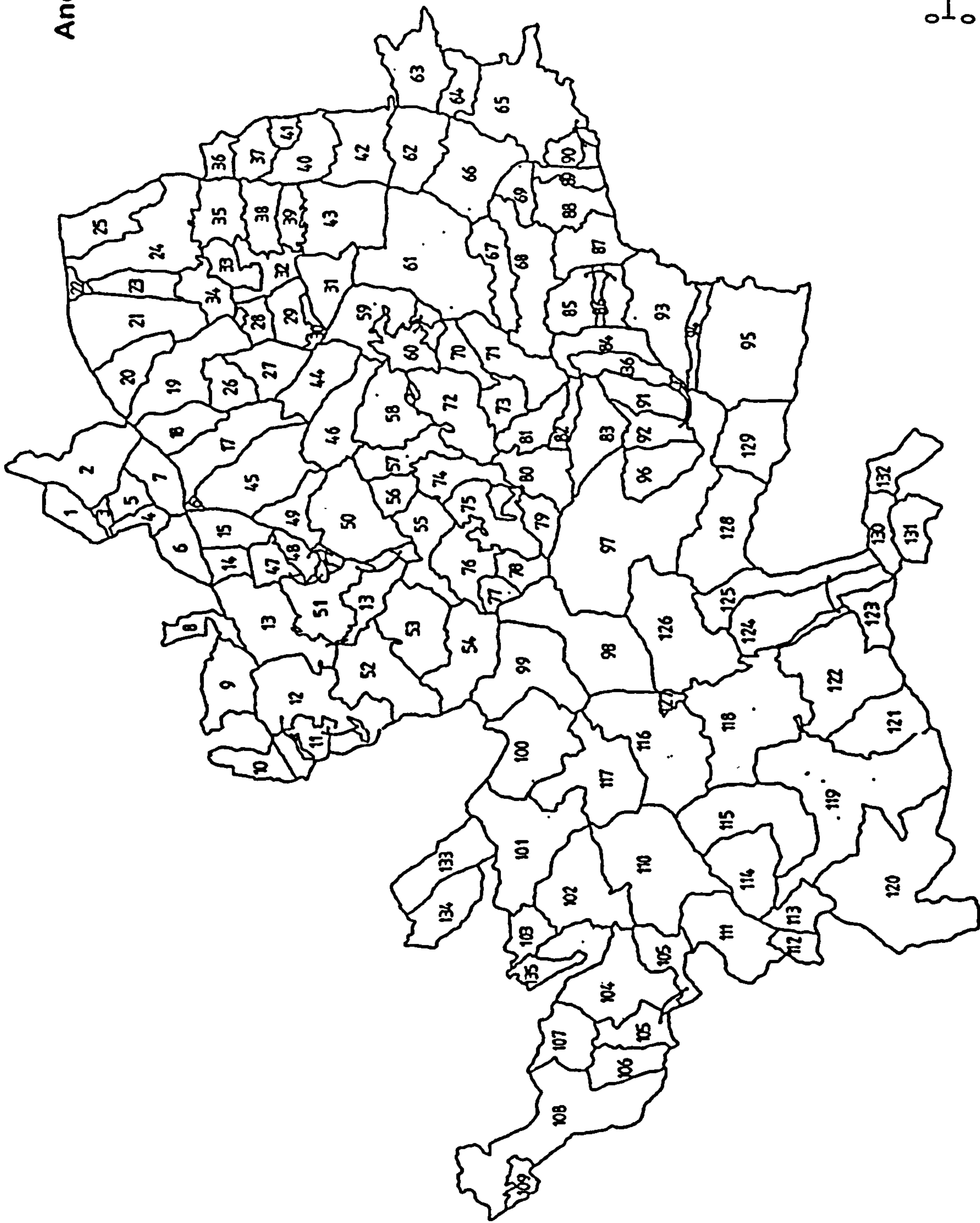
Thus the self-employed, master rural craftsmen and tradesmen are interpreted by Mills as being an integral part of a peasant 'class'. He argues that this class is more prominent in open villages, such as Melbourn, and that members of the peasant class were often small owner-occupiers with an interest in the land. Therefore, landowning patterns amongst rural craftsmen and tradesmen in

³² D.R. Mills, 'The nineteenth-century peasantry of Melbourn, Cambridgeshire' in Land, kinship and life-cycle, R.M. Smith, ed., Cambridge University Press, 1985, 481-518, 481.

individual villages, and how these changed over time, can be regarded as valid indicators of the social status of rural service providers within the village.

A variety of forces, both social and economic, had a direct impact on the activities of rural craftsmen and tradesmen during the nineteenth century. As we shall see, insights can be gained as to the nature of rural service provision in this period by adopting a variety of different methods and approaches to the study of rural service provision in small regions and individual craftsmen and tradesmen in the context of their respective villages.

Figure 1
Ancient Parishes



KEY TO FIGURE 1

PARISHES

1 Hinxworth	2 Ashwell
3 Caldecote	4 Radwell
5 Newnham	6 Norton
7 Bygrave	8 Ickleford
9 Pirton	10 Hexton
11 Lilley	12 Offley
13 Hitchin	14 Letchworth
15 Willian	16 Baldock
17 Clothall	18 Wallington
19 Sandon	20 Kelshall
21 Therfield	22 Royston
23 Reed	24 Barkway
25 Barley	26 Rushden
27 Cottered	28 Throcking
29 Aspenden	30 Wakeley
31 Westmill	32 Layston
33 Wyddial	34 Buckland
35 Anstey	36 Meesden
37 Brent Pelham	38 Great Hornead
39 Little Hornead	40 Furneux Pelham
41 Stocking Pelham	42 Albury
43 Braughing	44 Ardeley
45 Weston	46 Walkern
47 Great Wymondley	48 Little Wymondley
49 Graveley	50 Stevenage
51 Ippollitts	52 King's Walden
53 St. Paul's Walden	54 Kimpton
55 Knebworth	56 Shephall
57 Aston	58 Benington
59 Great Munden	60 Little Munden
61 Standon	62 Little Hadham
63 Bishop's Stortford	64 Thorley
65 Sawbridgeworth	66 Much Hadham
67 Thundridge	68 Ware
69 Widford	70 Sacombe
71 Bengeo	72 Watton-at-Stone
73 Stapleford	74 Datchworth
75 Welwyn	76 Codicote
77 Ayot St. Lawrence	78 Ayot St. Peter
79 Digswell	80 Tewin
81 Bramfield	82 Hertford St. Andrew's
83 Hertingfordbury	84 Hertford St. John
85 Great Anwell	86 Stanstead St. Margaret's
87 Stanstead Abbots	88 Hunsdon
89 Eastwick	90 Gilston
91 Bayford	92 Little Berkhamstead
93 Broxbourne & Hoddesdon	94 Wormley
95 Cheshunt	96 Essendon
97 Hatfield	98 Sandridge
99 Wheathampstead	100 Harpenden
101 Flamstead	102 Great Gaddesden
103 Studham	104 Great Berkhamstead
105 Northchurch	106 Wigginton
107 Aldbury	108 Tring
109 Puttenham	110 Hemel Hempstead
111 Bovingdon	112 Flaunden
113 Sarratt	114 King's Langley

KEY TO FIGURE 1 - CONTINUED

PARISHES

115 Abbot's Langley	116 St. Michael's
117 Redbourn	118 St. Stephen's
119 Watford	120 Rickmansworth
121 Bushey	122 Aldenham
123 Elstree	124 Ridge
125 Shenley	126 St. Peter's
127 St. Albans	128 North Mimms
129 Northaw	130 Chipping Barnet
131 Totteridge	132 East Barnet
133 Caddington	134 Kensworth
135 Little Gaddesden	136 Hertford All Saints

Figure 2
Geology

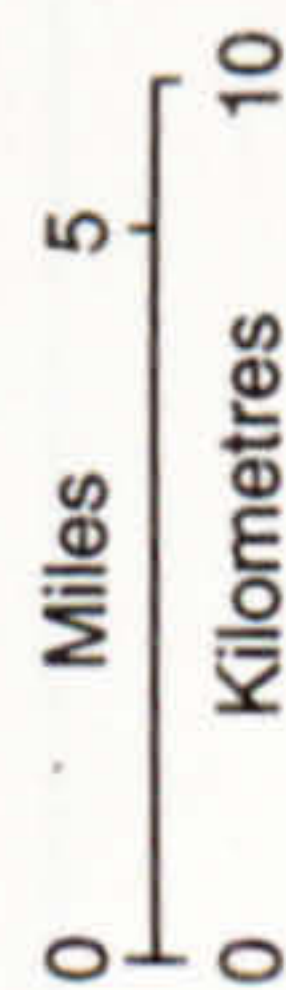
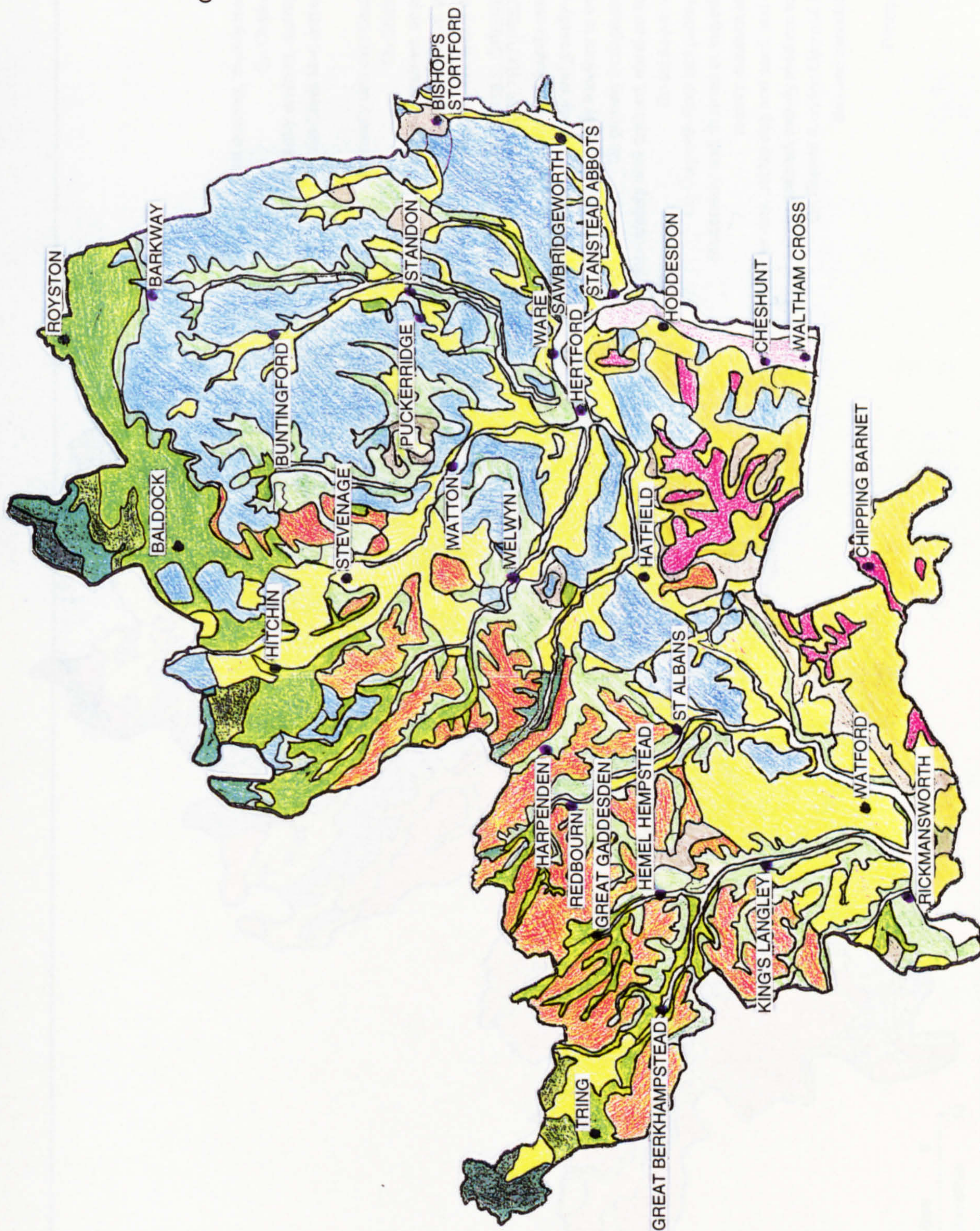
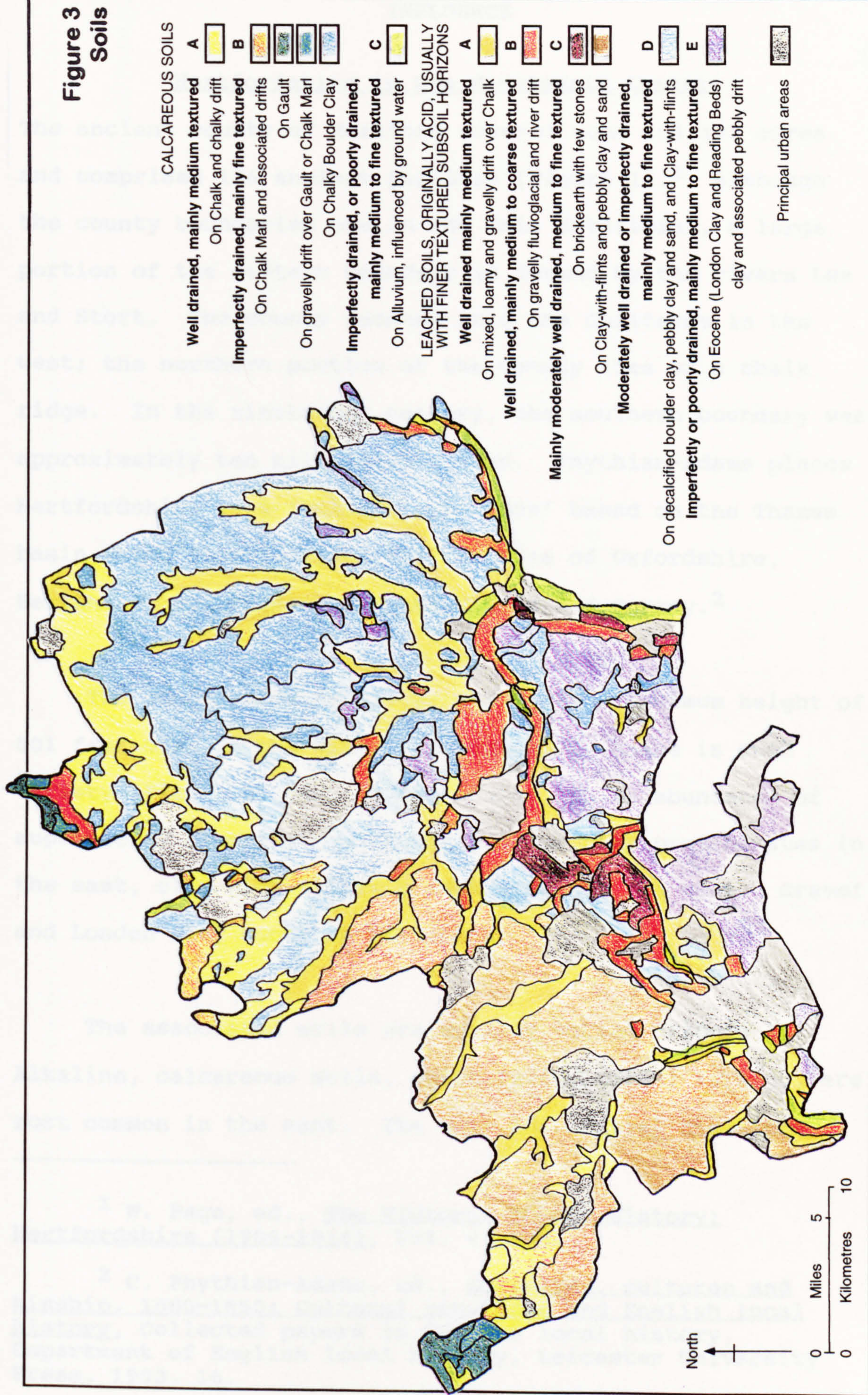


Figure 3
Soils



HERTFORDSHIRE: A COUNTY WITHIN THE SPHERE OF LONDON'S URBAN INFLUENCE

Hertfordshire in the Nineteenth Century

The ancient county of Hertford covered some 405,141 acres and comprised 136 ancient parishes (Figure 1).¹ Although the county boundaries are in the main artificial, a large portion of the eastern boundary is formed by the rivers Lea and Stort. The county reaches into the Chilterns in the west; the northern portion of the county lies on a chalk ridge. In the nineteenth century, the southern boundary was approximately ten miles from London. Phythian-Adams places Hertfordshire in a 'cultural province' based on the Thames basin which also includes the counties of Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex and Surrey.²

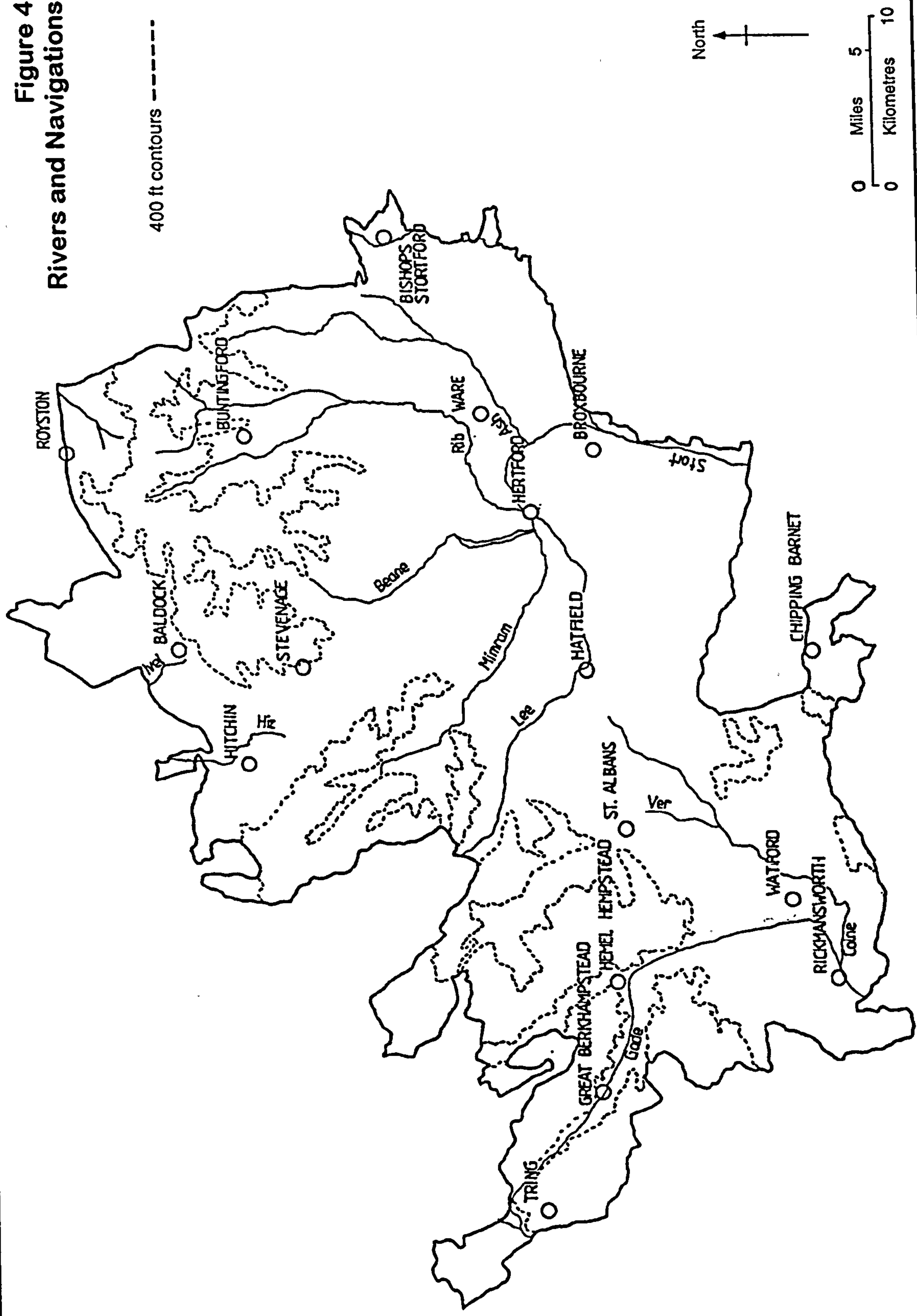
The countryside is hilly, rising to a maximum height of 801 feet O.D. in the west. Geologically, there is much variety (Figure 2) due, in particular, to an abundance of superficial deposits. Although boulder clay predominates in the east, clay-with-flints predominates in the west. Gravel and London Clay occur in the south.

The associated soils are equally varied (Figure 3). Alkaline, calcareous soils, which favour cereal farming, are most common in the east. The west and central districts

¹ W. Page, ed., The Victoria County History: Hertfordshire (1906-1914), Vol. 4, 235.

² C. Phythian-Adams, ed., Societies, cultures and kinship, 1580-1850: Cultural provinces and English local history, Collected papers in English local history, Department of English local history, Leicester University Press, 1993, 16.

Figure 4
Rivers and Navigations



have more acidic soils which are less well-drained. Clay soil, more suited to root crops and pasture, predominates in the south. Historically, the soil type has influenced agricultural activity: traditionally the north and east produced cereals, while mixed farming has been the basis of the rural economy in the south.

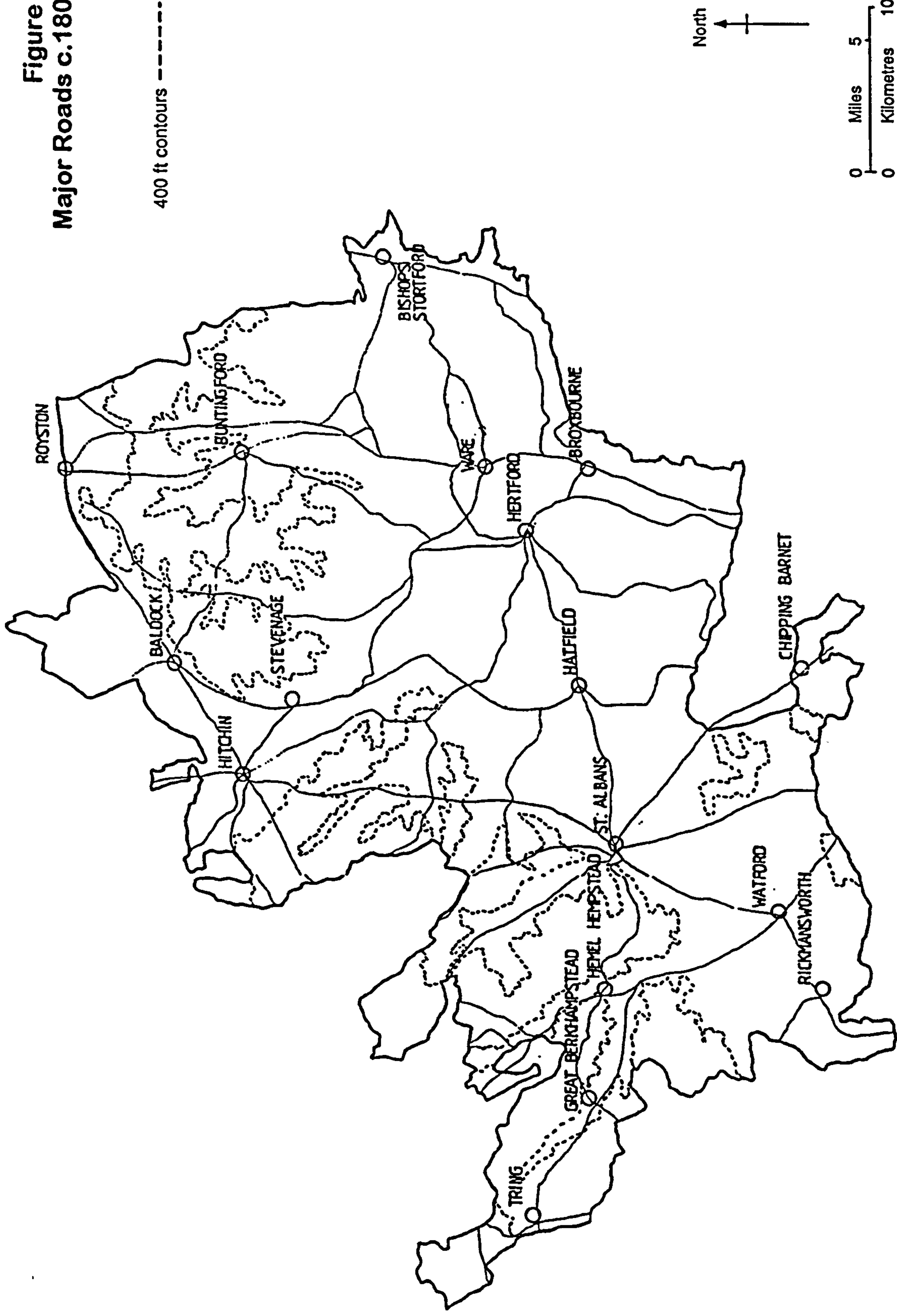
Hertfordshire is watered by several rivers. With the exception of the Hiz at Hitchin and the Ivel at Baldock which flow northwards into the Great Ouse, and the Cam which has its source at Ashwell in the north-east (Figure 4), these flow into the Thames via the Lea or the Colne.

In the pre-railway era, the navigable rivers were the main communication links with London. In 1739 the River Lea Act authorised the construction of locks, cuts and other developments as part of a river improvement scheme. This resulted in the Lea Navigation, whose most significant impact was probably upon the Hertfordshire malting industry. Large quantities of corn, malt, hay and straw were conveyed to London, while refuse and manure were transported from London to the county for use as soil fertiliser.³ The Stort Navigation Act of 1766 had a similar effect.

Hertfordshire also experienced a comparatively late canal boom as the Grand Junction Canal was constructed to inter-connect the Thames to the Oxford canal and thence to Birmingham. The Earls of Essex and Clarendon agreed to a

³ A. Young, General View of the Agriculture of Hertfordshire, 1804, David and Charles Reprints, 1971, 16.

Figure 5
Major Roads c.1800



route through their parks at Grove Park and Cassiobury in exchange for compensation.⁴ The Grand Junction Canal was a financial success and a significant stimulus for the Hertfordshire economy.

Canal development and river improvements were motivated primarily by the need for more efficient conveyance of coal and the products of heavy industry from the North and Midlands to London. 'The Grand Junction Canal was a product of canal mania in the East Midlands.'⁵ Hertfordshire benefited from the improved transport links with London which made viable the cheap, bulk transportation of agricultural products from the county to London.

Roads were also improved, with a number of turnpike trusts established between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (Figure 5). In contrast to the canals, turnpikes attracted local investment.⁶ The Post Office organised a reliable mail coach system throughout the country and many coaches ran through Hertfordshire, stopping overnight at one of the many coaching inns along the routes throughout the county.

Both canal building and turnpiking coincided with parliamentary enclosure. In the south and west, the

⁴ J.R. Ward, The Finance of Canal Building in Eighteenth-Century England, Historical Monographs, Oxford University Press, 1974, 44.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ W. Albert, The Turnpike Road System in England, 1663-1840, Cambridge University Press, 1972, 103.

surviving commons were most affected by enclosure. In the north and north-east, parliamentary enclosure was of arable open fields, much under the General Enclosure Act of 1845. During 1750-1870, between only 10 and 20 per cent of the county's open fields and less than five per cent of its wasteland and commons had been enclosed.⁷ Therefore enclosures were not to significantly affect Hertfordshire's agrarian economy during the nineteenth century.

Although Hertfordshire was a corridor for new transportation routes during the nineteenth century, the county as a whole played a relatively passive role during the Industrial Revolution. There was no coal or mineral wealth in the county to encourage the development of heavy industry. As a consequence, there was no industrialisation on the scale experienced in some other parts of the country. Agriculture remained the basis of the county's prosperity until the twentieth century and the county's industries were local in scale and traditionally associated with agriculture.

The market towns were the centres of local manufacturing and industry. Agricultural engineering concerns, iron foundries, brewing and tanning enterprises were usually located in the towns. Wood-working and chair-making flourished in the north-west until the end of the eighteenth century before these local crafts declined. Other domestic industries included straw-hat making in the

⁷ R. Lawton and C.G. Pooley, Britain, 1740-1950: An historical geography, Edward Arnold, 1992, 45-6.

St. Albans area, and brick and tile-making. There were many water mills along the rivers and silk mills appeared between 1771 and the 1820s near St. Albans and Watford.⁸

The town of Ware was the main centre for brewing and malting. Brewing and malting were long-established industries in the county. Barley, malted in Hertfordshire towns, went to London and to local breweries. Brewing was still a dispersed activity in the nineteenth century, with the village brewer often catering for purely local needs as local tastes in beer favoured the domestic brewer, although a move in public tastes towards light ales also favoured hard-water areas such as Hertfordshire.

Straw-plaiting was an important occupation for women and children, particularly in the north and west of the county. This provided a valuable support to the income of the labouring poor until the decline of the industry in the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁹

Papermaking was a significant local industry in the nineteenth century, and was concentrated in the Hemel Hempstead, Watford and Rickmansworth areas. Mechanisation of the paper industry began in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in Hertfordshire. The county's proximity to the capital may have stimulated these developments as quality white paper was in great demand in the London area.

⁸ Page, Victoria County History, Vol. 4, 251.

⁹ G. Jenkins, Traditional Country Craftsmen, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, revised ed., 1978, 153-7.

London has had a long, complex and important influence on the county. The contrast between the agricultural north of the county and the more heavily populated south was attributed to London's influence. '[The London communication network] is the factor which seems to explain the dominant cultural pattern in Hertfordshire history, the continuation of a strong contrast between the north-east and the south-west, long after the geographical and geological influence which first created it had ceased to exist.'¹⁰

Developments in the county were influenced more by accessibility rather than proximity to London. Proximity to roads, waterways and railways communicating with London was a major determinant of where people lived and where businesses could be located. Hertfordshire lay across the main roads from London to the North and had always been an area in which travellers stayed overnight. Besides the coaches, local carriers travelled the North Road to London, conveying goods and passengers. From 1730 to 1850 those Hertfordshire market towns which lay along the major coaching routes depended for much of their prosperity on the traffic which was serviced by their many inns and public houses, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and saddlers.

From medieval times, and probably earlier, Hertfordshire had been a major supplier of cereals to the London market, while London itself was a return source of

¹⁰ Page, Victoria County History, Vol. 4, 186-7.

the manure used by Hertfordshire farmers.¹¹ Hertfordshire was noted as an efficient cereal producer. Arable farming increased in the county during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Barley and wheat were widely cultivated, the former being the most important crop in this period. At the same time, livestock farming decreased in acreage proportions to arable.¹² There is evidence that Hertfordshire farmers achieved substantial yield increases in barley, wheat and oats and that yields were still above average at the beginning of the nineteenth century, although they had fallen to about average by the 1830s.

'Hertfordshire agriculture was characterised by relatively high yields and low livestock densities, high levels of manuring, considerable ploughing and weeding of fallows, and widespread cultivation of peas and other pulses.'¹³ The county prospered as its farmers responded to London's continually expanding demand for grain, malt, beer and hay.

The era of 'high farming' during the period 1830-1870 further increased output per acre and mixed farming practices became more widespread. Sound estate management was increasingly practised on the larger farms as farmers became more business-orientated with increased market

¹¹ R.E. Pahl, Urbs in Rure, London School of Economics and Political Science Geographical Papers No. 2, 1970, 18.

¹² P. Glennie, 'Continuity and change in Hertfordshire agriculture, 1550-1700: I--Patterns of agricultural production' in Agricultural History Review, Vol. 36, Part I, 1988, 55-75, 59, 68, 71.

¹³ P. Glennie, 'Continuity and change in Hertfordshire agriculture, 1550-1700, II--Trends in crop yields and their determinants' in Agricultural History Review, Vol. 36, Part II, 1988, 145-161, 145-146, 155.

awareness of the variable demand for grain and livestock. Kelly's trade directories for the 1850s indicate that the practice of estate management was increasing in Hertfordshire, recording growing numbers of estate agents, farm stewards, farm managers and farm foremen. Innovations in agriculture occurred along similar lines to those taking place in industry: in mechanisation, new materials and the application of scientific principles.

Agricultural engineering became a thriving industry until the 1870s depression. The impact of mechanisation was greater in arable than in pastoral farming and took the form of steam-threshing and steam-ploughing sets which were normally owned by firms of contractors. Mechanisation proved most effective in harvesting, preparing and transporting crops to market. Kelly's directories for Hertfordshire from the mid-century onward record thrashing machine owners, agricultural contractors, agricultural engine drivers and agricultural engineers, mainly based in the towns, providing evidence that some Hertfordshire farmers responded to the new technology.

Scientific principles were applied to agriculture during the high farming period. In 1843 John Lawes set up his experimental farm at Rothamsted, Hertfordshire, to investigate alternative methods of arable farming, particularly the use of fertilisers. Lawes pioneered the use of artificial fertilisers including superphosphates. Extraction of coprolites became a significant industry for a

time and the increased demand for sulphuric acid for the production of superphosphates boosted the chemical industry.

Although the pioneers of agricultural innovations often demonstrated the effectiveness of the new methods, nevertheless, many farmers, including probably the majority of Hertfordshire farmers, tended to be somewhat conservative in outlook and retained traditional farming methods in preference to high farming techniques.

Despite evidence of some rural conservatism, improved farming methods did lead to increased productivity in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1851 the agricultural labour force in England and Wales reached an absolute peak with more than one million males aged 20 and above engaged in agriculture.¹⁴ The Hertfordshire total also peaked in the same year at 21,945 including men and women, after which the numbers employed dwindled steadily. The decline was related to increased mechanisation in arable farming together with a decrease in the acreage of arable farming relative to pasture. A smaller labour force was required for pastoral farming: one man could cope adequately with between 50 and 60 acres compared with between 25 and 30 acres on arable holdings. Reduction in the agricultural labour force was accompanied by migration of other members of the rural population, generally young, single men and women, from the countryside into the towns.

¹⁴ E.A. Wrigley, 'Men on the land and men in the countryside: Employment in agriculture in early nineteenth-century England' in The world we have gained: histories of population and social structure, L. Bonfield, R.M. Smith and K. Wrightson (eds.), Basil Blackwell, 1986, 332.

As transport and communications improved nationally and internationally, increasingly Britain imported cheap foreign grain, especially from North America. From 1770 wheat imports exceeded exports and by 1800 there were net imports of all grains.¹⁵ By the 1870s Hertfordshire had lost its economic advantage and prosperity declined. The fall in prices of cereals in the 1870s resulted in an increase in the acreage of permanent grassland from 86,113 acres in 1870 to 116,134 acres in 1910 as farmers increasingly took up dairy or mixed farming.¹⁶ Beef cattle and dairy cows became more important to the county's agricultural prosperity as the London demand for butter, cheese, meat and fresh milk remained buoyant. Mixed farming, although more labour-intensive than pastoral farming, became more important as did market gardening. Hertfordshire was in the low-wage-paying southern area of the country and labour-intensive farming was still viable. Glasshouses and the growing of fruit and watercress increased mainly in the south of the county and the Lea Valley.

Agricultural Support Services in the National Context
Chartres has used the 1831-1851 decennial census reports to demonstrate that the services providing support for agriculture were well-established in England and Wales by

¹⁵ P. Mathias, The First Industrial Nation: An economic history of Britain, 1700-1914, Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1969, 71.

¹⁶ R.E. Pahl, Urbs in Rure, 19.

the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ He has analysed the distribution of: building trades (carpenter/joiner, thatcher and slater), horse and vehicle services (blacksmith, wheelwright and saddler), containers and equipment (cooper and basket maker), transport and distributive services (carrier, hawker (male and female), and drover), land services (auctioneer and surveyor), legal services (solicitor), and financial services (banker). Table 3 shows the numbers employed in these services in England and Wales in the period 1841-1901.

From 1851 to 1901 some of these services developed and expanded in scale of operation, for example, land surveyor, solicitor, auctioneer, carpenter/joiner, and carrier. Others declined or gradually evolved into new occupations in response to the increasing demands of industry, for example, thatchers and wheelwrights. Support services to agriculture were not evenly distributed, but rather show regional differences at county level.

In the census reports, declining crafts were often combined with other related occupations. Thus, for example, basket makers were combined with willow, cane and rush-makers from 1881. Thatchers disappeared from occupations listed in the census of 1901. From 1901, bankers were combined with bank officials and clerks, the 1901 figure being much greater than the 1891 figures as a result. A

¹⁷ J.A. Chartres, 'Country trades, crafts and professions' in The agrarian history of England and Wales, Vol. 6, 1750-1850, G.E. Mingay, ed., J. Thirsk, gen. ed., Cambridge University Press, 1989, 416-66.

further point to note is that the occupied population was computed from a variable base. From 1841-1881 all ages were included, while only those aged ten years and above were counted from 1891. Therefore, detailed comparison of individual figures from different censuses need to be treated with caution.

TABLE 3.--Numbers employed (males and females) in agricultural support services, England and Wales.
(000)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Carpenter/ joiner	138.5	156.1	178.0	205.8	235.2	221.0	270.7
Thatcher	3.8	5.9	5.4	4.1	3.7	3.2	n/a
Slater	3.3	4.4	5.3	6.1	7.5	6.8	9.8
Blacksmith	82.2	94.8	108.2	112.5	112.5	140.0	136.8
Wheelwright	25.2	28.0	30.0	30.3	28.7	28.0	28.9
Saddler	14.1	15.1	18.2	23.0	23.9	27.3	30.7
Cooper	14.6	15.9	17.8	19.2	18.7	17.2	15.7
Basket maker	5.7	7.4	8.9	9.3	11.5	12.3	21.1
Carrier	26.5	43.7	67.7	74.2	125.3	170.3	273.0
Hawker	14.7	25.7	21.8	44.6	47.1	58.9	61.3
Drover	2.1	3.0	3.1	3.0	2.6	2.8	2.8
Auctioneer	3.1	3.5	3.6	6.2	10.1	11.8	14.0
Surveyor	4.1	2.8	1.8	3.1	5.4	5.8	6.4
Solicitor	11.8	11.4	11.4	12.3	17.4	20.0	21.0
Banker	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.1	0.9	30.3

Source: Census Reports as for Table 1.

Table 4 shows the numbers employed in these services in Hertfordshire in 1841-1901. In general, Hertfordshire followed the trends as in England and Wales generally regarding the expansion and contraction of the various occupations in 1841-1901, although for wheelwrights, coopers, basket makers, hawkers, auctioneers and surveyors, the census year at which peak numbers were employed differed from those nationally recorded.

TABLE 4.--Numbers employed (males and females) in agricultural support services, Hertfordshire.

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Carpenter/ joiner	1,524	1,745	1,695	1,858	1,902	1,966	3,081
Thatcher	45	113	106	93	65	49	n/a
Slater	11	8	13	8	10	7	1
Blacksmith	722	812	830	873	817	973	905
Wheelwright	408	422	393	405	365	351	330
Saddler	209	180	194	199	219	228	242
Cooper	83	93	81	82	85	83	74
Basket maker	47	61	57	66	148	63	75
Carrier	233	322	487	352	533	988	2,200
Hawker	137	204	181	273	270	311	286
Drover	21	22	41	28	24	22	28
Auctioneer	31	21	34	52	82	79	142
Surveyor	71	38	82	44	35	68	70
Solicitor	100	91	92	96	161	172	279
Banker	19	15	25	11	19	18	309

Source: Census Reports as follows.

For 1841: Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to Acts 3 and 4 Vict. c. 99 and 4 Vict. c. 7, for taking an account of the population of Great Britain; occupation abstract, 1841: Part I, England and Wales, and islands in the British Seas, Parliamentary Paper, 1844, c. 587-588, XXVII, pages 54-55.

For 1851: Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables, Part II. Ages, civil condition, occupations and birth-places of the people; with the numbers and ages of the blind, the deaf-and-dumb, and the inmates of workhouses, prisons, lunatic asylums and hospitals. Vol. I, Report; results and observations; appendix of tabular results and summary tables; England and Wales. Parliamentary Paper, 1852-3, c. 1691-I, LXXXVIII, Part I, 1, Division III, pages 162-167.

For 1861: Census of England and Wales, 1861. Population Tables, Vol. II. Ages, civil condition, occupations and birth-places of the people; with the numbers and ages of the blind, the deaf-and-dumb, and the inmates of workhouses, prisons, lunatic asylums and hospitals. Parliamentary Paper, 1863, c.3221, LIII, Part I, 265- and Part II, 1. Division III, pages 191-197.

For 1871: Census of England and Wales, 1871. Population Tables, Vol. III. Population Abstracts: Ages, civil condition, occupations and birth-places of the people; with the numbers and ages of the blind, the deaf-and-dumb, imbecile, lunatics, etc. Summary Tables. Parliamentary Paper, 1873, c. 872, LXXI, Part I, Division III, pages 127-133.

For 1881: Census of England and Wales, 1881. Vol. III. Ages, condition as to marriage, occupations and birth-places of the people, Parliamentary Paper, 1883, c. 3722, LXXX, 1, Division III, pages 98-105.

For 1891: Census of England and Wales, 1891. Vol. III. Ages, condition as to marriage, occupations and birth-places, and infirmities, Parliamentary Paper, 1893-4, c. 7058, CVI, 1, Division III, pages 99-106.

For 1901: Census returns of England and Wales, 1901, giving details of area, houses and population; also population by age, condition as to marriage, occupations, birthplaces and infirmities in each county. County of Hertford, Parliamentary Paper, 1902, c. 1377, CXIX, pages 46-50.

Using Chartres' approach, the location quotient for each trade (defined as the percentage occupied in the trade divided by percentage of the occupied population) was used to determine the relative importance of the various services in Hertfordshire. A location quotient greater than unity (i.e. 1.0) indicates relative concentration of a service; a value of less than unity indicates a relative deficiency in the service. Table 5 shows the relative concentrations for Hertfordshire for the period 1841-1901.

TABLE 5.--Location quotients for Hertfordshire services to agriculture.

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Carpenter/joiner	1.10	1.32	1.07	1.06	1.08	1.25	1.51
Thatcher	1.18	2.26	2.22	2.63	2.34	2.14	n/a
Slater	0.33	0.21	0.28	0.15	0.18	0.14	0.20
Blacksmith	0.86	1.00	0.85	0.90	0.97	0.97	0.87
Wheelwright	1.60	1.77	1.47	1.57	1.70	1.76	1.51
Saddler	1.46	1.42	1.22	1.06	1.30	1.25	1.18
Cooper	0.57	0.69	0.51	0.50	0.60	0.68	0.62
Basket maker	0.77	0.97	0.79	0.92	0.92	0.75	0.74
Carrier	0.86	0.85	0.80	0.55	0.56	0.82	1.07
Hawker: Males	0.95	1.06	1.09	0.91	0.94	0.80	0.67
Females	0.85	0.70	0.61	0.38	0.44	0.60	0.53
Drover	1.01	0.87	1.47	1.11	1.24	1.09	1.31
Auctioneer	1.02	0.70	1.08	0.98	1.08	0.94	1.34
Surveyor	1.72	1.61	4.99	1.67	0.87	1.63	1.45
Solicitor	0.84	0.94	0.91	0.92	1.24	1.21	1.76
Banker	1.26	1.17	2.06	1.00	2.42	2.78	1.36

Source: Census Reports as for Table 4.

Victoria County History of
Hertfordshire (1906-1914), edited by
 William Page, Vol. 4, 235-238.

Apart from slaters, who were rare in the county, the building trades were well represented in Hertfordshire. Traditionally, Hertfordshire buildings had thatched roofs rather than slates and the services of the thatcher were therefore in greater demand than those of the slater.

Slaters tended to be present in inverse proportions to thatchers as a consequence of regional styles of architecture. Horse and vehicle services were adequately represented: blacksmiths were slightly under-represented, while there were relative concentrations of saddlers and wheelwrights throughout the study period.

The county lacked container and equipment trades during the period. The low concentration of coopers is surprising in view of the significant brewing industry in the county, although much of the malt produced in the county was transported to London.

Transport and distributive trades, with the exception of drovers, were under-represented in Hertfordshire. Both male and female hawkers declined relative to the Hertfordshire population during the period. Carriers were under-represented in all censuses from 1841 to 1891 but appeared in average concentrations in 1901. There is no obvious explanation for the relative deficiency of carriers and hawkers in the county. Hertfordshire had 17 market towns, a large number for a relatively small county. These were closely spaced and all the villages were within six miles of a town. This could account for the lack of hawkers. The presence of an informal carrier network could have resulted in a lack of carriers being recorded in the census surveys prior to 1901. Carriers were also poorly recorded in the county directories. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

From the sixteenth century onwards there had been an influx of new rich families seeking houses and landed estates in the county. 'The wealth of Elizabethan and Jacobean houses in Hertfordshire is exceptional. It is no doubt to be explained by the nearness to London.'¹⁸ Not surprisingly, land services were adequately represented in the county. Hertfordshire was a county of small landed estates which changed hands fairly frequently in the nineteenth century. Many of these were purchased by London merchants and businessmen because of the county's proximity to the capital. Therefore there was a distinct need for land services, in addition to legal and financial services. The proportions of auctioneers and surveyors fluctuated relative to the county population as is revealed by the location quotients. However, the location quotient exceeded unity for both these occupations for most years in the period. Solicitors were under-represented in 1841-1871, after which the location quotient for this occupation also exceeded unity. Bankers were well-represented in all the census years.

The distribution of support services for agriculture did not show any marked concentrations or deficiencies overall, with the exception of containers and equipment, and was probably typical of most agricultural counties in southern England during the nineteenth century.

¹⁸ N. Pevsner, Hertfordshire, Buildings of England, Revised ed., B. Cherry, Penguin, 1977, 20.

The Settlement Geography

In the nineteenth century, the county's urban hierarchy and central place system was relatively underdeveloped. No Hertfordshire settlement had emerged as a regional centre for the county as a whole at any period since Roman times when Verulamium, now St. Albans, was the major centre. The market towns occupied the highest orders of settlement function in Hertfordshire during the nineteenth century. The county came increasingly within London's sphere of influence, being slowly absorbed into the capital's hinterland as a result of improved communications. Probably as a consequence of the under-developed settlement hierarchy, and in harmony with Central Place Theory, Hertfordshire had a well-developed rural economy that also supported a variety of non-agricultural occupations. Although rural domestic industry was largely limited to straw-plaiting, there was a large craft and trade sector in the rural areas. In terms of service provision, crafts and trades had penetrated deeply and these rural areas retained them until the late 1870s, and, in some villages, until the twentieth century. Many villages had a significant range of service provision and there was only a small proportion (six per cent) of villages displaying at least one of the characteristics of closed villages.¹⁹ These settlements included: Eastwick, Ayot St. Lawrence, Letchworth, Puttenham, Throcking, Wakeley, Broadfield, Caldecote, and Radwell.

¹⁹ F.M.L Thompson, 'Landowners and the rural community,' in The Victorian Countryside, G.E. Mingay, ed., Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, Vol. 2, 472.

The internal occupational structure of Hertfordshire towns is of particular interest and worthy of closer examination. Although Chalklin found that crafts outnumbered retailers in Leicestershire towns in 1861, this does not appear to be the case for Hertfordshire towns in aggregate for a selection of crafts and trades²⁰ (Table 6). Here the selected retail outlets outnumbered the crafts. Chalklin does not list explicitly the occupations he considered to be 'crafts' and he may have included such town-based activities as iron foundries, brewing and malting which could also be considered as industries.

TABLE 6.--Craft and retail outlets in Hertfordshire market towns.²¹

Occupation	1855	1878	1902
Baker	156	184	205
Grocer/draper/shopkeeper	430	544	757
Butcher	147	137	195
Publican/innkeeper/hotel/ beer retailer	410	520	575
Tailor	134	144	158
Total Trade Outlets	1,277	1,529	1,890
Carpenter/wheelwright	95	121	80
Blacksmith/farrier	83	90	83
Boot and shoe maker	166	228	237
Saddler/harness/collar maker	55	51	55
Total Craft Outlets	399	490	455

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.

²⁰ C.W. Chalklin, 'Country Towns' in The Victorian Countryside, Vol. 1, 281.

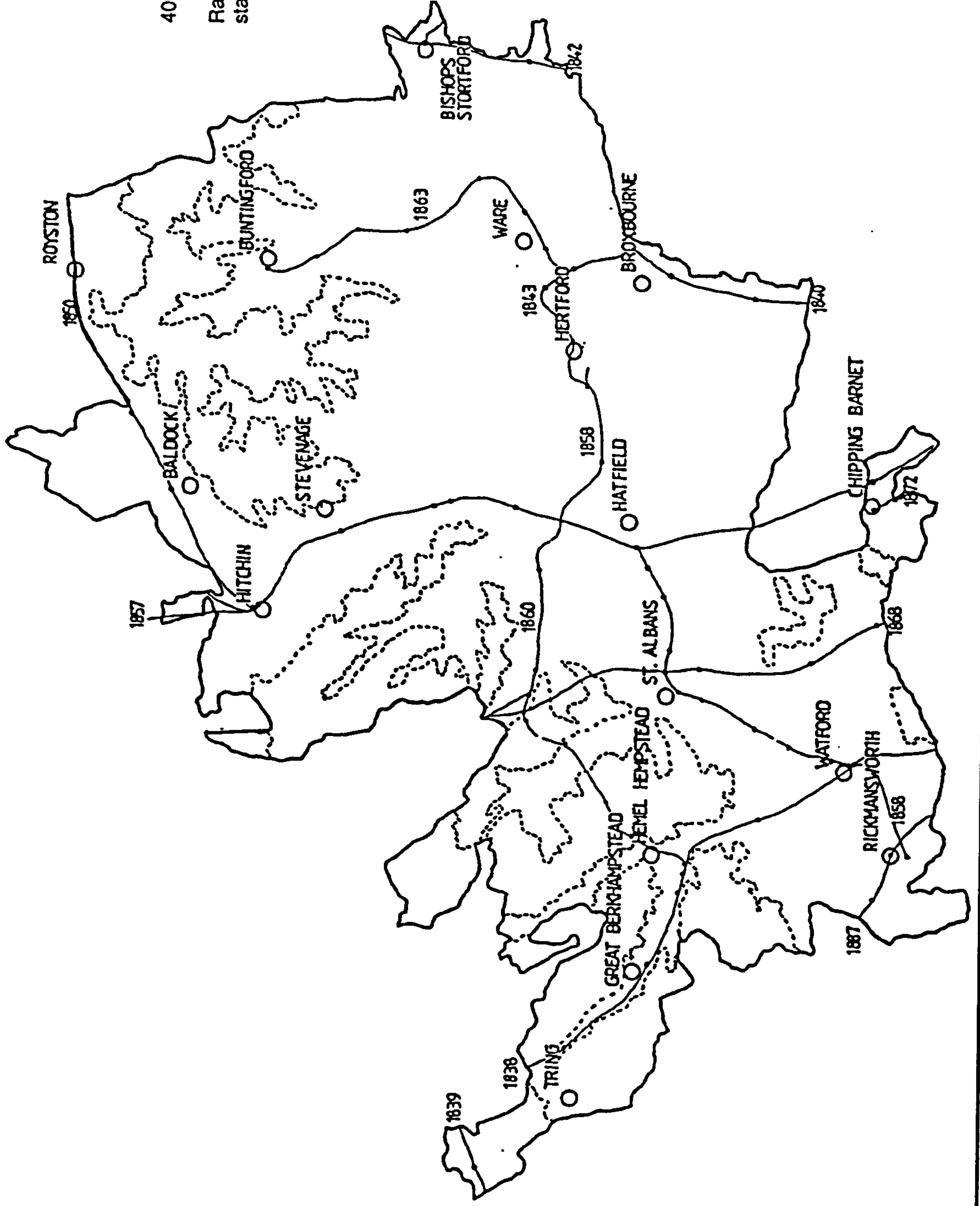
²¹ The classification of the crafts and trades presented in this table is the same as that used by Chartres and Turnbull. J.A. Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen' in The Victorian Countryside, 300-313, 301; and J.A. Chartres and G.L. Turnbull, 'Country Craftsmen' in The Victorian Countryside, 314-328, 316.

Figure 6
Railways

400 ft contours -----
Railway and stations —●—

North ↑

0 5 10
Miles
0 5 10
Kilometres



As we have previously noted, a major influence on the county in the nineteenth century was the railway which reinforced the county's already strong links with London. Four main lines from London to the North provided the basis for a local rail system. The first line was the London to Birmingham which reached Boxmoor (Hertfordshire) from Euston in July and Tring in October 1837. The Great Northern opened from King's Cross to Hitchin and beyond in 1850. The Northern and Eastern, later the Great Eastern Railway, ran from Liverpool Street to Bishop's Stortford and Cambridge. The last through line was the Midland, reaching St. Pancras from Bedford in 1867. Branch lines subsequently filled out the rail network in the county (Figure 6).²²

The Population Distribution in the Nineteenth Century

Hertfordshire experienced some rural depopulation, in the north-east of the county. Rural depopulation was characteristic of agricultural areas in Britain, and it increased in Hertfordshire after the introduction of the railways. From Buntingford 'all the quick-witted [farm labourers] go to London.'²³ Population decline was confined in the main to the cereal-producing regions which were off the main communications routes. Individual decisions to migrate from the countryside to the towns were based on 'push factors' such as the lack of prospects, tied cottages,

²² F.G. Cockman, The Railways of Hertfordshire, 2nd. ed., Hertfordshire Publications, 1983, 9, 20, 14.

²³ Quoted in W.A. Armstrong, 'The flight from the land' in The Victorian Countryside, G.E. Mingay, ed., Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, Vol. 1, 126.

low wages and social esteem, coupled with 'pull factors' such as the attractions of urban facilities and entertainments. Females tended to migrate into domestic service, shop work and the victualling trades. Males tended to become occupied in the expanding tertiary sector as cabmen, coachmen, grooms, ostlers, in transport and building, the army, police and the railways.

Areas which specialised in market gardening, watercress growing or dairy farming prospered near conveniently-located railway stations. Towns with railway stations on a main railway line experienced population increases which more than offset the decline in the rural population due to an influx of a non-agricultural adventitious population²⁴ whose demands began to play an increasingly important role in stimulating the retail economy in the area.²⁵ New long-distance transport links increased as a result of the railways which also speeded up the transmission of ideas. Suburban and dormitory development was focused in the south of the county or in close proximity to railway stations such as Knebworth. Hemel Hempstead was the first town to be affected by population growth, although in the longer term, Watford was to experience the greatest increases.²⁶ In contrast, Rickmansworth, which had been by-passed during the

²⁴ That is, people live in the country by choice. Examples include those who have retired from work in the country, town or from abroad, and also, especially in the twentieth century, those who, while working in the nearby towns, prefer to live in rural surroundings.

²⁵ Pahl, Urbs in Rure, 19-21.

²⁶ In 1801 the population of Hemel Hempstead was 3,680, rising to 12,490 in 1901. The population of Watford rose from 3,530 to 32,559 in the same period.

early phase of railway building, experienced an improvement in its fortunes only after it had acquired its own railway station in 1862.²⁷

During the nineteenth century, the population of England and Wales more than trebled. At the beginning of the century the bulk of the population lived in the countryside while at the end of the century, more than 75 per cent of the population was to be found in the towns. The population in Hertfordshire increased more slowly, despite its proximity to London, but, as in England and Wales as a whole, most of the population lived in the towns by the end of the century.

Table 7 shows the estimated proportion of the urban and rural population of England and Wales in the period 1801-1901. The figures for Hertfordshire are not directly comparable with the figures for England and Wales in that none of the market towns of Hertfordshire qualified for urban status in 1801, according to Law's criteria, and some did not qualify throughout the nineteenth century.²⁸ Also, four villages experienced substantial population increases during the century so that they can be regarded as urban, or, at least as suburban settlements by the end of the

²⁷ The population of Rickmansworth increased steadily from 4,873 in 1861 to 8,232 by 1901. Prior to the 1860s the population had stagnated. Page, Victoria County History, Vol. 4, 236.

²⁸ An urban settlement had: a minimum population of 2,500, a population density of at least one person per acre, and a degree of nucleation. C. M. Law, 'The growth of the urban population in England and Wales, 1801-1911' in Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 41, June 1967, 129-130.

century. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Table 7 shows that the proportion of the Hertfordshire population living in the market towns increased steadily, relative to the population living in the smaller settlements, from 43.8 per cent in 1801 to 56.7 per cent in 1901. From 1881 onwards, the proportion of the population resident in the towns exceeded 50 per cent. However, since some of Hertfordshire's market towns were not urban settlements according to Law's criteria, we could conclude that a smaller proportion of the county's population was urban than in England and Wales as a whole. This is to be expected in a county that was then still overwhelmingly agricultural in terms of economic activities.

TABLE 7.--Estimated proportions of the urban and rural population of England and Wales, compared with Hertfordshire.

Year	England and Wales			Hertfordshire		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Market Towns	Other settlements
1801	8,892,536	34.8	65.2	95,829	43.8	56.2
1811	10,164,256	36.7	63.3	106,528	44.3	55.7
1821	12,000,236	38.9	61.1	126,839	44.7	55.3
1831	13,896,148	42.6	57.4	140,307	45.9	54.1
1841	15,914,148	45.7	54.3	153,507	46.6	53.4
1851	17,927,609	50.2	49.8	164,065	47.6	52.4
1861	20,066,224	54.6	45.4	169,953	48.6	51.4
1871	22,712,266	61.8	38.2	189,148	49.9	50.1
1881	25,974,439	67.9	32.1	201,064	52.2	47.8
1891	29,002,525	72.0	28.0	218,044	53.4	46.6
1901	32,527,843	77.0	23.0	248,063	56.7	43.3

Source: S.W.E. Vince, 'The rural population of England and Wales, 1801-1951,' Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1955, 5; Census Reports as for Table 2.

Although there was some redistribution of the Hertfordshire population during the nineteenth century, the rank ordering of settlements by population size did not

change significantly. The value of Spearman's rank correlation coefficient Rho for the rank ordering of settlements in 1801 and 1901 was 0.92, indicating no significant change at the 0.01 significance level.²⁹ The six largest settlements in 1801, in descending order, were: St. Albans, Hertford, Hemel Hempstead, Watford, Cheshunt and Hitchin. In 1901 the same six settlements had the highest populations, although the sequence in descending sequence was: Watford, St. Albans, Hemel Hempstead, Cheshunt, Hitchin and Hertford.

The settlement geography of Hertfordshire showed no far-reaching changes in the number or in terms of the size of settlements. No significant new communities emerged in the county during this phase of industrialisation and urbanisation elsewhere in England and Wales. Hertfordshire conformed fairly closely to the national pattern of settlement change characteristic of agricultural counties during the nineteenth century, experiencing the effects of two simultaneous but distinct processes: rural decline and depopulation together with a flow into the county of an adventitious population, largely as a result of the county's proximity to London. This, as a result of distance-decay effects, increased the contrasting character of the north and south of the county.

²⁹ The population of each settlement was analysed using transition matrices, transition probabilities, and a regression model using Robson's approach as described in B.T. Robson, Urban Growth: An Approach, Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1973, 40-70. The growth of Hertfordshire settlements did not differ significantly from England and Wales as a whole.

DATA SOURCES

Unlike the modern social scientist who, in many cases can generate his or her own data for the purposes of study, the historical social scientist is usually forced to rely on data compiled, originally, by someone else and often for a different purpose. Primary sources compiled during the nineteenth century are extensively used in the research on which this thesis is based for the study of rural service provision and for the study of individual craftsmen and tradesmen. The main sources used are: the Board of Trade Abstract of Schedules for Returns of Acreage of Crops, 1866, the decennial census reports and census enumerators' books for 1851-1891, Kelly's trade directories for Hertfordshire for a variety of years, parish registers, land tax assessments, the tithe surveys, the 1873 New 'Domesday' survey of landownership,¹ and the 1910 Lloyd George 'Domesday' of landownership.²

Because primary sources are often used by the historical geographer in a way which differs significantly from the original purpose of compilation, there is a need for a careful evaluation of each source and of the techniques used to analyse the data it contains.

¹ The New Domesday Book of Hertfordshire, Hertford, 1873.

² B. Short, The geography of England and Wales in 1910: An evaluation of Lloyd George's 'Domesday' of landownership, Historical Geography Research Series, No. 22, April 1989.

Nominal record linkage was the technique used to relate the disparate pieces of data relating to individual craftsmen and tradesmen appearing in directories, census enumerators' books, the tithe awards, the land tax assessments and the 1910 Lloyd George survey. Linkage was on the basis of name, occupation, and age, where this was recorded, for example, as in the census enumerators' books. As was to be expected, nominal record linkage was more effective in terms of the numbers of individuals successfully linked for those sources which were produced relatively close to each other in time. The land tax assessments and the tithe surveys, the census enumerators' books and directories produced in years approximating to the census yielded better linkages than, for example, those sources which were further apart in time such as the tithe surveys and the census enumerators' books.

Several of the data sources used in the following chapters are used sporadically. Therefore, for convenience, all the primary data sources used in the research are evaluated in this chapter, regardless of where they are used in the text.

Sources for Hinterland Definition: Carrier Data

Odell used carrier data for nineteenth-century Leicestershire to define the hinterlands of market towns.³ He used trade directories as sources of information

³ P.R. Odell, 'Urban spheres of influence in Leicestershire in the mid-nineteenth century' in Geographical Studies, Vol. 4, Part 1, London, Birkbeck College, 1957, 30-45.

concerning the name of the carrier, the day(s) on which he or she operated the service, the name of the inn in town from which the return journey started, and the time of departure.⁴ In many instances, a cart served more than one village and thus might be listed under several village headings. By checking the name of the carrier and the time and place of departure, it was possible to avoid duplication and determine the actual route of the carrier.

There was no directory or other data source which provided comparable data for nineteenth-century Hertfordshire. Kelly was the only publisher of a nineteenth-century trade directory which covered the whole of the county. In Kelly's directories, carriers' return journeys were usually not recorded. In some cases, the source and destination were recorded, and often, either the weekly frequency, or the day(s) on which the specific journey was scheduled. Times were seldom recorded, although carriers' names were provided. It is evident that much carrier information has been omitted from the Hertfordshire directories throughout the nineteenth century. Only the market towns of Hitchin and Royston in the north of the county, and Hertford in the centre, had detailed listings of carriers operating out of those centres. There were very few carrier data for towns in the south and west of the county. Also, the actual routes of the carriers through the villages could not be reconstructed because the time at which the carrier called at each village was not recorded. Carrier services to villages were seldom recorded in any of

⁴ Ibid., 36.

the directories examined. Therefore, it is impossible to define hinterlands for Hertfordshire market towns based on these data.

Census Reports

The decennial census reports for 1801-1901⁵ are used to relate nineteenth-century Hertfordshire to the national

⁵ Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to Acts 3 and 4 Vict. c. 99 and 4 Vict. c. 7, for taking an account of the population of Great Britain; occupation abstract, 1841: Part I, England and Wales, and islands in the British Seas, Parliamentary Paper, 1844, c. 587-588, XXVII.

Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population Tables, Part II. Ages, civil condition, occupations and birth-places of the people; with the numbers and ages of the blind, the deaf-and-dumb, and the inmates of workhouses, prisons, lunatic asylums and hospitals. Vol. I, Report; results and observations; appendix of tabular results and summary tables; England and Wales. Parliamentary Paper, 1852-3, c. 1691-I, LXXXVIII, Part I, 1.

Census of England and Wales, 1861. Population Tables, Vol. II. Ages, civil condition, occupations and birth-places of the people; with the numbers and ages of the blind, the deaf-and-dumb, and the inmates of workhouses, prisons, lunatic asylums and hospitals. Parliamentary Paper, 1863, c. 3221, LIII, Part I, 265- and Part II, 1.

Census of England and Wales, 1871. Population Tables. Vol. III. Population Abstracts: Ages, civil condition, occupations and birth-places of the people; with the numbers and ages of the blind, the deaf-and-dumb, imbecile, lunatics, etc. Summary Tables. Parliamentary Paper, 1873, c. 872, LXXI, Part I.

Census of England and Wales, 1881. Vol. III. Ages, condition as to marriage, occupations and birth-places of the people, Parliamentary Paper, 1883, c. 3722, LXXX, 1.

Census of England and Wales, 1891. Vol. III. Ages, condition as to marriage, occupations and birth-places, and infirmities, Parliamentary Paper, 1893-4, c. 7058, CVI, 1.

Census of England and Wales, 1901. Summary Tables. Area, houses and population. Also population classified by ages, condition as to marriage, occupations, birthplaces, and infirmities. Parliamentary Paper 1903, c. 1523, LXXXIV, 1.

Census of England and Wales, 1901. Summary Tables (England

context by comparing county figures relating to population and occupational groups with those for England and Wales as a whole. (Although the research described in Chapters 6 and 7 was carried out at the county level, the unit of research is the individual settlement and trade directories are the main type of data source used to determine occupational structures of settlements.)

The majority of the selected occupations were found to be grouped differently in the abstracts for different census years and this made it difficult to compare numbers employed over time. We have already discussed the situation as regards thatchers, basket-makers, surveyors and bankers in Chapter 4. Similarly, 'coopers' appeared separately in the census reports for 1841-1861, but were combined with 'hoop-makers and benders' from 1871.

The numbers recorded as the occupied population were also computed from a variable base for Hertfordshire and for England and Wales. From 1841-1881 all ages engaged in economic activity were included; from 1891, only those aged ten years or above were included in the calculation.

To attempt to minimise the variation between years for similar occupational groups, those employed in each selected

and Wales), Area, houses and population; also population classified by ages, condition as to marriage, occupations, birthplaces and infirmities, Parliamentary Paper, 1903, c. 1523, LXXXIV, 1.

Census returns of England and Wales, 1901, giving details of area, houses and population; also population by age, condition as to marriage, occupations, birthplaces, and infirmities in each county. County of Hertford, Parliamentary Paper 1902, c. 1377, CXIX.

occupation as a proportion of the total occupied population for each census year were compared. This provided a general indication as to whether an occupation was expanding or contracting over time.

Population figures for Hertfordshire and for England and Wales are used in Chapter 5. The populations by parish are those recorded in the Victoria County History.⁶ These were derived from the census figures. Generally speaking, these figures are comparable over time because parish boundaries remained largely unchanged for the majority of Hertfordshire parishes throughout the nineteenth century. The only major change was the extent of East Barnet between 1861 and 1871. The census reports and the Victoria County History did not record or indicate the boundary changes.

It is generally acknowledged that the population figures were more accurate from 1851 onwards and the earlier figures, from 1801 to 1841, were accordingly viewed as estimates.

⁶ W. Page, ed., Victoria History of the County of Hertford (1906-1914), Vol. 4, 233-238.

Directories and the Census Enumerators' Books⁷

Published systematic studies of rural craftsmen and tradesmen which cover the second half of the nineteenth century are relatively few. Chartres and Turnbull have touched on the period in their studies of nineteenth-century craftsmen and tradesmen in the North Riding of Yorkshire.⁸ Chartres also mentioned late nineteenth century rural service provision in his study of services to agriculture in the period 1750-1850.⁹ Hallas has studied blacksmiths, stonemasons and shoemakers in the Yorkshire dales during the late nineteenth century.¹⁰

Major sources for the study of eighteenth century and early nineteenth century occupations, the militia lists and the early directories, have been evaluated for Hertfordshire

⁷ This section contains the substance of the forthcoming article by C.A. Crompton, 'Changes in rural service occupations during the nineteenth century: an evaluation of two sources for Hertfordshire, England,' to be published in Rural History in Autumn, 1995. Another important source which contains an evaluation of trade directories is: G. Shaw and A. Tipper, eds., British directories: a bibliography and guide to directories published in England and Wales (1850-1950) and Scotland (1773-1950), Leicester University Press, 1988.

⁸ J.A. Chartres, 'Country tradesmen' in The Victorian countryside, Vol. 1, G.E. Mingay (ed.), Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, 300-313 and J.A. Chartres and G.L. Turnbull, 'Country craftsmen' in The Victorian countryside, 314-328.

⁹ J.A. Chartres, 'Country trades, crafts and professions' in The agrarian history of England and Wales: 1750-1850, Vol. 6, G.E. Mingay (ed.), J. Thirsk (gen. ed.), Cambridge University Press, 1989, 416-66.

¹⁰ C. Hallas, 'Craft occupations in the late nineteenth century: some local considerations' in Local Population Studies, No. 44, Spring 1990.

and Oxfordshire respectively.¹¹ The two most important late nineteenth-century sources for the study of occupations are the trade directories and the census enumerators' books. There have been evaluations of directories relative to the census enumerators' books in an urban context at the level of the individual town or street,¹² but there has been very little conscious evaluation of the sources for the study of late nineteenth century occupations in a rural context.

Geographical studies within the framework of central place theory are less concerned with individual craftsmen and tradesmen and more with general patterns and systems of rural service provision and how these changed over time. Threshold population, a central place concept, is the minimum population necessary to sustain a good or service. This provides an indicator of the relative importance of specific service occupations to the rural community.

The trade directories have been the major occupational source for such large- or medium-scale regional studies where use of the census enumerators' books would be excessively time-consuming. Chartres and Turnbull drew on trade directories to calculate the threshold populations of

¹¹ P.D. Glennie, 'A commercialising agrarian region: late medieval and early modern Hertfordshire,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1973; P.D. Glennie, Distinguishing men's trades: occupational sources and debates for pre-census England, Historical geography research series, No. 25, 1990; and J.R. Walton, 'Trades and professions in late eighteenth-century England: assessing the evidence of directories, Local Historian, Vol. 17(6), 1987, 343-350.

¹² G. Shaw, British directories as sources in historical geography, Historical geography research series, No. 8, 1982.

selected village-based crafts and trades in nineteenth-century Norfolk and Yorkshire.¹³ Barker also used directories in centrality studies of nineteenth-century settlements, using the central place functions recorded in the directories as indicators of settlement status.¹⁴

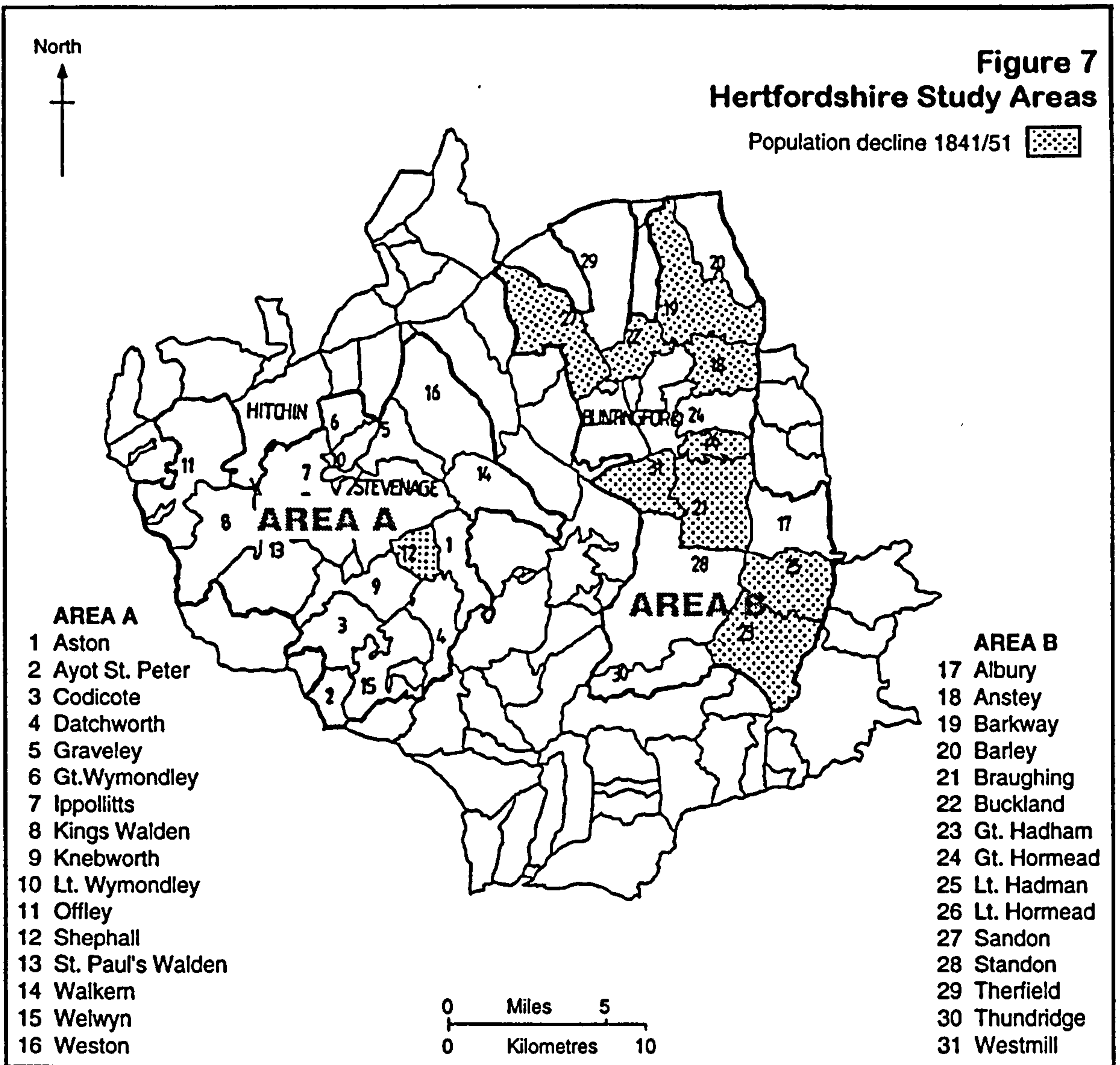
Census enumerators' books come into their own at the level of the individual parish, for detailed social and economic studies. Although census enumerators' books have been very widely used in general occupational studies in both rural and urban areas, there is very little published work to date which focuses on rural craftsmen and tradesmen.¹⁵

The relative merits of the two data sources, as bases for the study of rural occupations in the second half of the nineteenth century, are assessed here. To reflect the typical ways in which these sources are used, the evaluation will be at several different levels of detail. Data appropriate to geographical, social and economic studies of rural craftsmen and tradesmen will be considered. The census enumerators' books for 1851 and 1891 and Kelly's directories for 1850 and 1890 are the specific sources used.

¹³ See Note 1.

¹⁴ D. Barker, 'The development of central places with special reference to the towns of south-west England,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Bristol, 1978.

¹⁵ D. Mills and C. Pearce, People and places in the Victorian census, Institute of British Geographers, Historical geography research series No. 23, 1989.



Two contiguous areas in rural Hertfordshire were chosen for the study. The Stevenage and Buntingford areas comprised 16 and 15 parishes respectively (See Figure 7). As we saw in the previous chapter, these were suppliers of cereals and other agricultural produce to the London market.

Trade directories afford their most comprehensive coverage of rural areas in the period 1830-1930 when a number of publishers, among them Pigot, the Post Office, Kelly and White, published county directories. However, in Hertfordshire there was little choice of directory; in the study period Kelly was the only publisher of a county directory which also included all the villages. Accordingly, Kelly's directories of Hertfordshire for 1850 and 1890 were selected. The 1850 and 1851 editions of the directory were identical. There had been at least one revision between the publication of the 1845 Post Office directory, edited by Kelly, and the 1850 directory, which thus predated the 1851 census by at least one year. Similarly the 1890 directory predated the 1891 census by at least a year.

Both directories have the same format. The traders were listed alphabetically by name with the trade indicated after the name. Entries for rural parishes omitted the trader's address if his business was in the village. Otherwise the place of business was indicated after the occupation. For example, 'Beechener Wm. blacksmith, Woolmer Gn.' refers to Woolmer Green in Welwyn parish. The occupations of publican, innkeeper and licensed victualler

were suggested by the name of the establishment, for example, 'Bowcock William, Black Bull.' Beer retailers had their occupation recorded explicitly, probably because of the licensing laws.

Census enumerators' books from 1851 provide the only detailed and comprehensive information concerning individuals in towns and villages in England and Wales. Details are recorded of name, relationship to household head, marital status, age, occupation and place of birth for each individual by household. In 1851, householders and census enumerators were instructed to record economic status alongside the occupation, that is, whether the individual was a master craftsmen or tradesman and the numbers he employed. This directive was often ignored, although in the study areas it was adhered to more closely in the larger parishes. Incidence of recorded status and numbers employed was low in both areas: 20 per cent and 38 per cent of self-employed or master craftsmen and tradesmen, identified from the directory, in the Stevenage and Buntingford areas respectively.

Inability to distinguish employers from employees in the census enumerators' books was such a persistent problem that in 1891 the Census Office added three new columns to the householders' enumeration forms. These were headed 'Employer', 'Employed', and 'Neither employer nor employed' (= self-employed). The instruction was to record a cross in the appropriate column for each occupied person. This did not solve the problem because in many cases no cross at all

was made. In others, crosses were made in two or three columns. The results were so unsatisfactory that the Registrar-General commented against the results published in the census volumes: '...we hold them to be excessively untrustworthy and shall make no further use whatever of them in our remarks.'¹⁶ For the study areas, the majority of employers and those indicated as 'Neither employer nor employed', recorded in the census enumerators' books for 1891, were listed in the 1890 directory. The latter status was what would now be called somewhat ambiguously 'self-employed' and was frequently found in connection with publican/beer retailers, grocer/draper/shopkeepers and boot and shoe makers. Small numbers of those designated 'Employed' and those without a designation in the census enumerators' books were also linked with names in the directory.

Linkage of census enumerators' books with an appropriate directory is often necessary for studies of social stratification, where ascription of social status depends upon the identification of master craftsmen and self-employed tradesmen. In Armstrong's social classification of occupations based on census data:

From Class III (or in a few cases IV), upon consideration of individual cases, those who employed at least one person (other than members of their own families), were ... raised to Class II. In boarding, catering, etc., the employment of one or more

¹⁶ Interdepartmental committee on social and economic research. Guides to official sources. No. 2. Census reports of Great Britain, 1801-1931. London: H.M.S.O., 1951, 32. Also, E. Higgs, Making Sense of the Census. The Manuscript Returns for England and Wales, 1801-1901. London: H.M.S.O., 1989.

servants was taken to count for this purpose, ..., at a minimum, the employment of even an apprentice is an obvious indication of self-employed status.¹⁷

Under this scheme, social status is influenced by employment of one or more persons as recorded in the census enumerators' books. Tradesmen and craftsmen who are also employers are assigned to Class II, while others who may be self-employed or employed, are assigned to Class III or IV. This scheme has often resulted in a large Class III category in relation to the other classes.

Mills and Mills have proposed an alternative classification of self-employed traders based on the assumption that, in the nineteenth century, there was conceptually less difference between employers and self-employed traders than between all the self-employed and employees.¹⁸ A consequence of this assumption is that both employers and the self-employed have the status of small entrepreneurs and would both be assigned to Class II of Armstrong's scheme.¹⁹ Employed craftsmen and tradesmen would then be in Armstrong's Class III or IV. Using trade directories for Melbourn in Cambridgeshire, a rural area, Mills and Mills compared the listed craftsmen and tradesmen with those recorded in the census enumerators' books. They found that the directories recorded only master craftsmen

¹⁷ W.A. Armstrong, Stability and change in an English county town: a social study of York, 1801-51, Cambridge University Press, 1974, 13-15.

¹⁸ Dennis and Joan Mills, 'Occupation and social stratification revisited: the census enumerators' books of Victorian Britain,' Urban history yearbook, R. Rodger (ed.), 1989, 63-77, 67.

¹⁹ Ibid., 78.

and other independent traders such as shopkeepers, carriers and publicans.²⁰ This is consistent with the finding of the present study: that Kelly's directory for 1890 listed Class II tradesmen and craftsmen according to Mills and Mills' scheme, that is, the employers and the self-employed. It is probably safe to assume that this was also the case for the 1850 directory, but the different format of the 1851 census makes direct comparison impossible.

The evaluation of the trade directories relative to the census enumerators' books is combined here with some interpretation of the data concerning craftsmen and tradesmen in the two study areas for the years 1850/51 and 1890/91.

The rural occupations selected for the evaluation exercise are those that are represented in sufficient numbers in both types of source. There were a number of exceptions. Paper-making and straw-plaiting were excluded because these industries did not cater specifically for local needs. Large numbers were employed in such female-dominated occupations as dressmaking but these were not listed in any consistent manner in the directory. Some of the building trades: plumbers, painters, glaziers, thatchers and brickmakers appeared only in small numbers in the directory.

²⁰ Ibid., 68.

TABLE 8.--Selected rural service occupations, thirty-one rural parishes.

Occupational Group (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Publican/beer retailer	166	147	1.1	241	217 1.1
Grocer/draper/shopkeeper	154	94	1.6	249	105 2.4
Carpenter/wheelwright	312	54	5.8	255	46 5.5
Blacksmith/farrier	122	38	3.2	119	40 3.0
Boot and shoe maker/cordwainer	176	38	4.6	90	37 2.4
Baker	69	28	2.5	102	38 2.7
Butcher	77	26	3.0	83	25 3.3
Miller	73	24	3.0	56	16 3.5
Tailor	59	19	3.1	34	9 3.8
Builder/bricklayer	117	14	8.4	173	30 5.8
Saddler/harness & collar maker	26	10	2.6	22	12 1.8

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- (1) Numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen (masters, self-employed, journeymen, apprentices, and assistants) recorded in the 1851 census enumerators' books.
- (2) Numbers of craft and trade outlets recorded in Kelly's directory, 1850.
- (3) Imputed mean business size in 1850/51, Column (1)/Column (2).
- (4) Numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen (masters, self-employed, journeymen, apprentices, and assistants) recorded in the 1891 census enumerators' books.
- (5) Numbers of craft and trade outlets recorded in Kelly's directory, 1890.
- (6) Imputed mean business size in 1890/91, Column (4)/Column (5).

Sources: Census enumerators' books, 1851 and 1891, Kelly's directories for 1850 and 1890.

In the 31 parishes, each of the occupations selected had ten or more outlets and occupied ten or more individuals. Table 8 shows the selected occupational groups. Appendix 1 records in detail the number of self-

employed or master craftsmen and tradesmen present in each parish for 1850/51 and 1890/91. For each occupation, the number of outlets tended to increase or decrease directly with the numbers employed at the two dates as inferred business sizes appear to have remained surprisingly constant. In a declining economy, one might expect labour shedding to occur before closure of businesses. The occupations of blacksmith/farrier, butcher, and saddler/harness and collar maker experienced a slight decrease in imputed business size.

These craft and trade occupations differed from the groupings in the census reports in some cases. Occupations are grouped in Table 8 according to whether they frequently occurred in the study parishes in these combinations, or were used interchangeably in the directory and the census enumerators' books. For example, some linked individuals were described as 'carpenter' in one source and 'wheelwright' in the other. The terms 'builder' and 'bricklayer' were also used as synonyms. 'Grocer' and 'shopkeeper' were used in the sources to describe the same individual, while 'draper' frequently occurred in combination with 'grocer'. Most occurrences of the term 'farrier' were in combination with 'blacksmith'. Similarly, 'harness maker' or 'collar maker' usually appeared in combination with 'saddler'. The 'publican/beer retailer' category also included innkeepers and licensed victuallers. 'Cordwainer' was a term used originally of workers in cordoba leather but later came to refer to shoemaker. This

term, or the variant, 'cordwinder', was found in the census enumerators' books as a synonym for shoemaker.

Most of the selected occupations were male-dominated, with the exception of publicans/beer retailers and grocer/draper/shopkeepers, among whom there were significant numbers of women. Male and female grocer/draper/shopkeepers are presented separately and in combination in the analysis.

In the more skilled occupations of shoemaker, blacksmith, carpenter/wheelwright and tailor, the numbers employed declined between 1851 and 1891, while the retail trades of publican/beer retailer, grocer/draper/shopkeeper, and baker increased during the same period. The number of builders and bricklayers increased significantly. As today, members of the building trades were difficult to keep track of because of their tendency to move around on different contracts. The business size of 8.4 for builder/bricklayers in 1851 may have been inflated because of under-representation in the directory. In 1891 the mean business size for builder/bricklayers was similar to that for carpenter/wheelwrights.

Comparing the figures for the study areas with those employed in England and Wales (Table 33, Chapter 7) there was a decrease in the numbers employed as blacksmiths and carpenter/wheelwrights, occupations which experienced an increase in numbers both nationally and in the county as a whole. The population for the 31 parishes decreased from 25,439 in 1851 to 22,961 in 1891 and this was reflected in

the decline of some occupations which evidently were unable to sustain adequate demand for their services.

Central place studies are concerned with the relationship between the settlement hierarchy and the volume, extent and range of service provision. In this context, the numbers of specific master tradesmen and craftsmen present in individual villages is not of paramount importance. Rather, the total number of functions or services provided, the number of different services, and the presence or absence of specific services, for each settlement, relative to population size, are of key importance. Typical analyses are provided below using data derived from the directories and the census enumerators' books.

The relationship between the settlement hierarchy and the number of craft and trade outlets can be measured in general terms, by calculating Spearman's rank correlation coefficient Rho for the ranked ordering of villages by population size against the ranked ordering of settlements in terms of the volume of service provision, measured by the total number of craft and trade outlets present in each village or parish.

Table 9 shows the Rho values for both years and areas. All values are above the 0.01 significance level. Thus there is no significant statistical difference at the 0.01 significance level between the two sources. In both areas there was a strong positive correlation between the village

size measured by population and the volume of service provision. As predicted by central place theory, the number of craft and trade outlets is greater in villages of larger population size.

TABLE 9.--Spearman's Rho for population versus volume of service provision, Stevenage and Buntingford areas.

=====				
	1850/1		1890/1	
	Stevenage	Buntingford	Stevenage	Buntingford
Census	0.77 **	0.87 **	0.95 **	0.91 **
Directory	0.70 **	0.80 **	0.90 **	0.83 **

** denotes values above the 0.01 significance level.

An index calculated by dividing village population size by the number of crafts and trades is a crude measure of the concentration of rural service provision. The Rho value for this index of provision was computed against village population size. Table 10 shows the Rho values for each year and area for both sources. Higher positive Rho values suggest that services tended to concentrate disproportionately in the larger villages, and that smaller villages were hierarchically dependent on larger villages

TABLE 10.--Spearman's Rho for population versus concentration of service provision, Stevenage and Buntingford areas.

=====				
	1850/1		1890/1	
	Stevenage	Buntingford	Stevenage	Buntingford
Census	0.12	0.08	0.64 **	0.27
Directory	0.10	-0.03	0.44 *	0.05

* denotes values above the 0.05 significance level.

** denotes values above the 0.01 significance level.

for some rural services. Low Rho values indicate that the number of services is in proportion to village size, without exhibiting a disproportionate concentration of services in larger villages. This would suggest that the study villages exhibit a degree of self-sufficiency.

For the Stevenage area in 1890/1, the Rho value derived from the census data was above the 0.01 significance level while the corresponding value derived from the directory was above the 0.05 significance level. The remaining values are not statistically significant. Thus, the two data sources were equally valid at the 0.05 significance level. The low Rho values for the Stevenage area in 1850/1 and the Buntingford area for both dates suggested predominantly self-sufficient or segregated systems of rural service provision: that is, the individual villages within the regions exhibited varying degrees of self-sufficiency in the basic rural crafts and trades. The high Rho value for the Stevenage area in 1890/1 indicated a predominant system of hierarchical dependence, as suggested by the data from both sources. This means that there now appeared to be a hierarchy of villages based on the range of services provided. Larger villages were able to serve as centres of rural service provision for nearby dependent villages which were lacking in some or all essential services.

Spearman's Rho was also calculated for ranked village population size against service mix, or range of provision, measured by the number of different services in each village. Table 11 shows the results.

TABLE 11.--Spearman's Rho for ranked population size versus service mix,
Stevenage and Buntingford areas.

=====				
	1850/1		1890/1	
	Stevenage	Buntingford	Stevenage	Buntingford
Census	0.64 **	0.81 **	0.83 **	0.91 **
Directory	0.66 **	0.80 **	0.93 **	0.90 **
=====				

** denotes values above the 0.01 significance level.

There is a strong positive relationship between range of service provision and village population size, as predicted by central place theory, and the Rho values were above the 0.01 significance level for both dates and areas. The two sources were again equally valid at the 0.01 significance level.

In central place terms, the threshold population is the population size required to sustain the production of a good or service. Therefore, this is a means for relating the incidence of rural service provision to settlement size, as measured by population. The relative size of the threshold population is an indicator of the importance of a specific occupation to the rural community. Thus, a crude measure of the order of significance of rural occupations to village life is provided by the rank order of the threshold populations.

The threshold population for a specific trade may be calculated by taking the mid-point between the mean size of villages with the trade and all those without the trade. This calculation depends on the presence or absence of a specific trade in a village, irrespective of full-time or

part-time status of the trade. Table 12 shows the ranked threshold populations for the selected occupational groups based on data derived from the two sources for both dates, taken over the 31 parishes that comprise the two study areas.

TABLE 12.--Threshold populations for the 31 parishes.

1850/1.....				1890/1.....			
Occupation	Census	Rank	Directory	Rank	Census	Rank	Directory
Saddler etc.	965	1	949	1	853	1	815
Baker	870	2	829	3	714	4	694
Miller	841	3	813	5	774	3	745
Builder etc.	833	4	878	2	642	8	729
Tailor	812	5	822	4	852	2	911
Butcher	777	6	794	6	704	5	713
Bootmaker etc.	755	7	753	7.5	671	6	674
Blacksmith etc.	712	8	753	7.5	572	9	598
Carpenter etc.	668	9	707	9	647	7	595
Grocer etc.	600	10	606	10	524	10	597
Publican etc	466	11	547	11	439	11	439

Builder/bricklayer was the most erratic of the occupational groups with least correspondence between threshold populations derived from the two different sources. There was general agreement between rankings and populations for both years if builders are ignored. The lower the threshold population the more significant that particular occupation is deemed to be to the rural community, and the lower the order of the service in central place terms. Those occupations found in the majority of villages--bootmaker, blacksmith, carpenter/wheelwright, grocer, and publican-- showed less variation than the relatively higher-order services found mainly in the larger villages.

TABLE 13.--Numbers of traders.

Parish	1850/1					1890/1				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Stevenage area, n=16										
Aston	10	7	7	3	0	14	11	10	4	1
Ayot St. Peter	7	6	3	4	3	3	5	2	1	3
Codicote	28	27	24	4	3	33	37	25	8	12
+Datchworth	10	12	8	2	4	10	10	6	4	4
Graveley	5	3	1	4	2	8	9	4	4	5
Great Wymondley	1	1	1	0	0	4	3	1	3	2
+Ippollitts	9	5	4	5	1	12	15	6	6	9
+Kings Walden	7	4	1	6	3	31	23	15	16	8
Knebworth	3	3	1	2	2	5	7	2	3	5
+Little Wymondley	6	6	6	0	0	9	7	5	4	2
+Offley	8	8	8	0	0	26	19	12	14	7
*+Shephall	3	3	2	1	1	2	3	2	0	1
+St.Pauls Walden	21	23	18	3	5	27	24	19	8	5
+Walkern	17	17	14	3	3	23	23	16	7	7
+Welwyn	45	52	34	11	18	44	49	31	13	18
+Weston	18	16	11	7	5	22	20	14	8	6
Total	198	193	143	55	50	273	265	170	103	95
Buntingford area, n=15										
+Albury	12	10	9	3	1	12	13	11	1	2
*+Anstey	7	9	6	1	3	10	12	6	4	6
*+Barkway	32	32	23	9	9	27	30	21	6	9
+Barley	12	15	11	1	4	21	18	12	9	6
*+Braughing	25	21	14	11	7	26	27	24	2	3
*+Buckland	8	12	7	1	5	7	8	5	2	3
*+Great Hadham	21	24	16	5	8	26	25	15	11	10
+Great Hornead	13	16	9	4	7	18	20	13	5	7
*+Little Hadham	10	13	8	2	5	17	19	13	4	6
* Little Hornead	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
*+Sandon	16	20	13	3	7	24	20	17	7	3
Standon	53	48	34	19	14	66	44	26	40	18
+Therfield	19	19	15	4	4	22	16	13	9	3
+Thundridge	15	15	13	2	2	8	7	7	1	0
* Westmill	3	2	0	3	2	6	6	2	4	4
Total	246	257	178	68	79	291	266	186	105	80
Increasing	319	313	232	87	81	140	123	73	67	50
Decreasing	125	137	89	36	48	424	408	283	141	125
Both areas	444	450	321	123	129	564	531	356	208	175

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) Census traders. | (6) Census traders. |
| (2) Directory traders. | (7) Directory traders. |
| (3) Linked pairs. | (8) Linked pairs. |
| (4) Unlinked census traders. | (9) Unlinked census traders. |
| (5) Unlinked directory traders. | (10) Unlinked directory traders. |

* denotes parish with population decline in 1841/51

+ denotes parish with population decline in 1881/91

The threshold populations in Table 12 should be viewed as rough estimates because the 31 parishes are not completely contiguous. The thresholds levels presented above also included part-time occupations (if these were present). Because there was much hidden duality in rural economies (not always recorded in the sources), it is inappropriate to ignore the presence of an occupation engaged in on a part-time basis. If part-time occupations had been ignored, the threshold populations would have been slightly greater.²¹

Nominal record linkage

Nominal linkage between the corresponding sources for the two dates has been undertaken on the basis of matching parishes, names and occupations. Three types of minor variation in name were accepted where there was no better match: variation in spelling where the pronunciation was the same, for example, Sheppard/Shepherd and Frances/Francis; where middle names or initials were omitted, for example, William G. Speller/William Speller; and where a woman's married name appeared in the directory, for example, Mrs John Brownsell/Sarah Brownsell. Occupations have been linked where, clearly, occupational groupings could be matched together, for example, publican/beer seller, or carpenter/wheelwright. A dual occupation in one source has been linked with a single

²¹ Another approach would be to take Chartres' alternative definition of threshold population: the mid-point between the smallest village with the trade and the largest village without the trade. This could be calculated using the presence or absence of full-time occupations only. J.A. Chartres, 'Country trades, crafts and professions,' 424.

occupation in the corresponding source where the names matched and there was no better linkage, for example, blacksmith-victualler/blacksmith. All linked traders were assigned master or self-employed status, since appearance in both sources served to confirm this status.

TABLE 14.--All occupations, Thirty-one Parishes.

OCCUPATION	1850/1.....					1890/1.....				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Publican etc.	142	147	83	59	64	173	217	126	47	91
Grocer etc	63	94	54	9	40	114	105	69	45	36
Carpenter etc.	66	54	45	21	9	64	46	29	35	17
Blacksmith	37	38	29	8	9	39	40	29	10	11
Boot Maker etc.	49	38	31	18	7	57	37	29	28	8
Baker	24	28	21	3	7	38	38	25	13	13
Butcher	26	26	20	6	6	34	25	18	16	7
Miller	18	24	15	3	9	14	16	12	2	4
Tailor	26	19	17	9	2	15	9	7	8	2
Builder etc.	13	14	7	6	7	44	30	24	20	6
Saddler etc.	10	10	7	3	3	12	12	9	3	3
All Occupations	474	492	329	145	163	604	575	377	227	198

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- (1) Census trades.
- (2) Directory trades.
- (3) Linked pairs.
- (4) Unlinked census trades.
- (5) Unlinked directory trades.
- (6) Census trades.
- (7) Directory trades.
- (8) Linked pairs.
- (9) Unlinked census trades.
- (10) Unlinked directory trades.

Table 13 shows the numbers of linked craftsmen and tradesmen for each parish.²² Each parish is listed with the

²² There were more master or self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen recorded in the directory than in the census enumerators' books for Welwyn parish for both sets of years. An analysis of the unlinked directory traders in 1850 revealed that ten out of 18 belonged to the publican/beer retailer occupational group. Similar numbers of unlinked publican/beer retailers were absent from the census enumerators' books. Similarly, the 1890 edition of the directory recorded six publican/beer retailers, and four carpenters. These entries largely explain the discrepancies in numbers between the two types of data source for 1850/51 and 1890/91.

numbers of linked and unlinked traders for each source and date. Parishes with population increases or decreases in the decade preceding the census are grouped and appear toward the end of the table. Columns (1) and (2) show the master or self-employed traders found in the 1851 census enumerators' books and the 1850 directory respectively. Columns (6) and (7) show the corresponding figures from the 1891 census enumerators' books and the 1890 directory. Columns (3) and (8) show the number of linked pairs for 1850/1 and 1890/1 respectively. Overall, there was very good agreement in numbers between the two sources for both dates, slightly better in 1850/1 than in 1890/1. There was more variation among the individual parishes where 12 out of 16 Stevenage parishes and eight out of 15 Buntingford parishes had agreement in numbers within plus or minus ten per cent in 1851. In 1891 the respective proportions were six out of 16 and 13 out of 15. Thus, for both dates more than half of the study parishes had equal numbers of traders within plus or minus ten per cent. Approximately one-third of parishes had equal numbers of traders within plus or minus five per cent. Deaths, retirement, out-migration and replacement in-migration could account for a proportion of trading outlets receiving new proprietors between compilation of the directory and the corresponding census.

Since the content of the directories was not revised for each edition, it is safe to assume that the information recorded in the census enumerators' books was the most reliable in terms of date. Therefore, the numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen recorded in the directories but not

in the corresponding census enumerators' books (columns (5) and (10) of Table 14) are a rough indicator of the amount of obsolete information which had not been removed from the 1850 and 1890 directories ('disappearances'). Similarly, the number of traders appearing in the census enumerators' books but not in the directories (columns (4) and (9)) indicates the amount of current information not recorded in the 1850 and 1890 directories ('appearances').

TABLE 15.--Linkages and distribution of proportions for selected occupations, 1850/1

Occupation	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Publican etc.	7/30	5/29	13/30	6/16	7/14	8/21	5/9	105	19
Named estab.	-	7/29	8/30	6/16	2/14	6/21	2/9	-	-
Grocer etc.	20/27	7/29	8/29	6/15	2/14	7/20	1/9	38	11
Males	21/26	7/28	10/28	8/14	2/14	8/19	2/9	-	-
Females	9/11	9/15	9/15	4/6	5/9	7/9	2/6	-	-
Carpenter etc	10/24	15/23	10/26	5/12	5/14	8/18	2/8	23	6
Wheelwright	17/20	18/22	15/22	7/9	8/13	11/15	4/7	8	3
Blacksmith etc.									
	16/23	17/24	17/25	10/11	7/14	13/16	4/9	13	4
Bootmaker etc	10/20	13/19	10/21	5/9	5/12	7/14	3/7	24	1
Baker etc.	9/13	9/15	10/16	7/9	3/7	9/11	1/5	8	2
Butcher etc.	13/18	11/17	9/19	3/7	6/12	6/12	3/7	11	1
Miller etc.	11/14	9/16	9/17	5/8	4/9	8/12	1/5	11	1
Tailor etc.	9/16	11/13	9/17	6/8	3/9	8/14	1/3	10	1
Builder etc.	5/11	6/11	5/14	3/6	2/8	4/9	1/5	9	3
Saddler etc.	6/9	6/9	7/11	2/3	5/8	4/7	3/4	5	1

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- (1) Proportion of parishes with 80% linkage or better : census.
- (2) Proportion of parishes with 80% linkage or better : Kelly.
- (3) Number of parishes with numbers within 10%: all parishes.
- (4) Number of parishes with numbers within 10%: Stevenage area.
- (5) Number of parishes with numbers within 10%: Buntingford area.
- (6) Number of parishes with numbers within 10%: increasing parishes.
- (7) Number of parishes with numbers within 10%: decreasing parishes.
- (8) Linkage failures due to disappearances and appearances.
- (9) Linkage failures due to mismatched dual occupations.

The proportions of traders linked by name varied remarkably little between parishes. For the 31 parishes combined, the rate for 1851 was between 71 and 72 per cent for both sources, compared with 63 to 67 per cent for 1891.

Parishes with increasing populations had better linkage results than decreasing parishes in 1851 while the reverse was true in 1891.²³

Turning to the trades, Table 14 shows, in a similar format to Table 13, the linkage results for each occupation. There were more occupations than traders in both sources because dual occupations were counted separately. For all occupations there was good agreement in numbers between the sources for both dates, with more variation within individual trades and crafts. Overall, the proportions linked varied from 62 to 69 per cent for the two dates, masking the considerable variation between individual occupations.

Tables 15 and 16 show the results for the individual trades and crafts in more detail. These tables have a similar format. Columns (1) and (2) show the proportion of parishes having 80 per cent linkage or better for each trade for the census enumerators' books and the corresponding directory respectively. Columns (3) to (7) show the number of parishes having agreement in numbers within plus or minus ten per cent for each trade. The distributions are: for all

²³ Nine pairs of traders were ascribed to different parishes in the sources. Braughing and Standon were the most affected parishes, where four traders in 1891 were assigned to different parishes. Puckeridge, a village in Standon parish, had expanded over the parish boundary into Braughing parish by 1890. The 1890 directory featured separate headings for Standon and Puckeridge villages where the traders concerned appeared under the Puckeridge heading. They also appeared in the census enumerators' book for Braughing and were assigned to Braughing parish for linkage purposes. The remaining five pairs of traders were not linked because it was impossible to determine if these were genuine movements between parishes.

31 parishes, for Stevenage parishes, Buntingford parishes, parishes with increasing populations, and parishes with decreasing populations. Finally, columns (8) and (9) show

TABLE 16.--Linkages and distribution of proportions for selected occupations, 1890/1.

Occupation	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Publican etc.	12/30	4/30	13/31	7/16	6/15	5/8	8/23	137	7
Named estab.	-	9/27	10/30	5/16	5/14	4/8	6/22	-	-
Grocer etc.	8/28	7/26	10/28	6/15	4/13	3/8	7/20	68	11
Males	11/26	10/26	10/28	5/15	5/13	3/8	7/20	-	-
Females	4/19	9/16	4/21	2/12	2/9	0/7	4/14	-	-
Carpenter etc.	6/24	12/24	7/26	3/12	4/14	2/5	3/21	46	7
Wheelwright	10/17	11/19	15/20	7/9	8/11	3/4	12/16	-	-
Blacksmith etc.	18/26	20/27	19/28	10/14	9/14	4/7	15/21	19	1
Bootmaker etc.	5/19	12/19	7/20	4/10	3/10	2/4	5/16	38	2
Baker etc.	8/17	8/18	10/19	5/9	5/10	2/3	8/16	22	6
Butcher etc.	9/19	12/19	9/23	5/9	4/14	1/5	8/18	20	1
Miller etc.	11/13	11/15	10/16	6/8	4/8	0/4	10/12	6	0
Tailor etc.	4/10	6/8	5/10	3/5	2/5	1/1	4/9	10	0
Builder etc.	7/23	11/17	9/24	2/12	7/12	2/7	7/17	22	4
Saddler etc.	7/10	8/11	6/12	3/4	3/8	1/3	5/9	5	0

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- (1) Proportion of parishes with 80% linkage or better : census.
- (2) Proportion of parishes with 80% linkage or better : Kelly.
- (3) Number of parishes with numbers within 10%: all parishes.
- (4) Number of parishes with numbers within 10%: Stevenage area.
- (5) Number of parishes with numbers within 10%: Buntingford area.
- (6) Number of parishes with numbers within 10%: increasing parishes.
- (7) Number of parishes with numbers within 10%: decreasing parishes.
- (8) Linkage failures due to disappearances and appearances.
- (9) Linkage failures due to mismatched dual occupations.

the linkage failures due to appearances and disappearances, and mis-matched dual occupations. Values appearing in these last two columns are indicative of the stability of the specific trade. A large number of disappearances and appearances suggests a turn-round of proprietors between compilation of the directory and the census, while a large number of mismatched dual occupations suggests a marginal trade.

Between 1851 and 1891 emphasis appears to shift from active production of goods, or manufacturing crafts, to retailing with an increase in publicans, grocers, bakers, and a decline in millers and tailors. Such crafts as blacksmith, bootmaker, and saddler were continuing to hold their own in 1891 in terms of numbers of master traders, although as Table 8 shows, the estimated mean business size for bootmakers decreased between the two dates. Apparently, this was the result of a decrease in the numbers employed while the number of directory outlets or masters remained approximately the same.

Most of the linkage failures can be explained by disappearances and appearances. These varied among the different occupations. Forty-one per cent of all disappearances and appearances were found among publicans in 1851 and 35 per cent in 1891. Most of the licensees may have been tenants and this may partially explain the large turnover. Disappearances and appearances of grocers accounted for 15 per cent of the total in 1851 and 17 per cent in 1891.

The substantial variation between linkage rates and agreement in numbers for individual occupations suggests that the directories are unpredictable relative to the census enumerators' books at this level of detail, although some variation is to be expected because of the relatively small numbers involved.

It is possible to interpret the variations as follows. A good agreement in numbers and linkage suggests a steady trade, settled in one place. Examples of steady trades in 1851 are: saddlers, millers, butchers, blacksmiths, bakers, tailors, wheelwrights, and female shopkeepers. By 1891 the number of steady trades had decreased and now appeared to be millers, blacksmiths, and wheelwrights.

There is a possibility that some rural milling enterprises extended over more than one parish. In 1850 there were millers surnamed Garratt in four contiguous parishes: Welwyn, Codicote, Ayot St. Peter and Walkern. The entry 'Garratt Samuel, miller/farmer' appeared in the 1850 directory under the headings for Codicote and Ayot St. Peter. However, there was only one Samuel Garratt in the census enumerators' books and he resided at Codicote. Further research may show the existence of a family network of millers.

Poor nominal linkage but a good match on numbers indicates some turn-round of traders in that specific occupation. A poor match on both numbers and linkage could indicate one of the following or a combination of them: under-representation in the directory, a subsidiary occupation recorded in one source but not the other, or, less likely, contraction or expansion of the occupation between compilation of the directory and the census.

It was difficult to assess the stability of some occupations. Builders have already been mentioned.

Carpenter/wheelwright was another problematic occupational group which took several forms. On six occasions the terms 'builder' and 'carpenter' were used interchangeably in the sources. Wheelwrights were considered separately from carpenters and this appeared to be a steadier craft as shown by the results in Tables 15 and 16.

Historically, brewing, malting and tavern-keeping were closely tied in with the county's economy. Hertfordshire wayside taverns were used by travellers on the canals and the main roads from London to the North during the coaching era and there were still many public houses off the main roads, on back roads, in the county's rural areas in the nineteenth century. Thus, the publican/beer retailer group was the largest of the selected occupations.

Moreover, there was a range of status within the publican/beer retailer group. The Beerhouse Act, which was in force from 1830 to 1869, allowed a householder assessed to the poor rate to retail beer and cider from his own house on payment of two guineas. Beer retailers thus had the lowest status while innkeepers had the highest of the group, although the issue was clouded by those sources that used the occupational descriptions interchangeably. In an attempt to isolate the higher status elements, named establishments have been considered separately, thereby excluding most beer retailers. There was no noticeable improvement in the linkage or agreement in numbers for named establishments. Both numbers and linkage results were poor for named and unnamed establishments at parish level for

both dates. This appeared to be a marginal trade in some cases and this probably explains the inconsistent recording in the sources. As with the other occupational groups, the large number of disappearances and appearances suggests frequent turnover of proprietors.

Grocer/draper/shopkeepers had been present in the majority of rural parishes--at least from the early nineteenth century. There was a substantial increase in their numbers between 1851 and 1891. The sources provide better agreement in numbers in 1891 than in 1851, although the linkage rate was poorer in 1891. Significant numbers of women were employed in this group and females had a better linkage rate than males in 1851, although the reverse was true in 1891. This appeared to be another marginal trade with a large turn-round of traders. Members of the household other than the head may have carried on the business and these may not have been consistently recorded in the sources.

Mention has already been made of linkage failures due to mismatched dual occupations (See Tables 15 and 16). It is generally acknowledged that much hidden duality of occupation in rural areas persisted throughout the nineteenth century. Linking the data sources exposes some of the duality: a large number of mismatched dual occupations suggests a marginal trade. Typical examples are: William Collis, of Albury parish, appeared as wheelwright/blacksmith in the 1851 census enumerators' books and as wheelwright only in the 1850 directory; Thomas

TABLE 17a.--Numbers recording single or dual occupations: census enumerators' books 1851.

Occupation	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Grocer etc.	45										
Publican etc.	5	94									
Blacksmith etc.		5	28								
Builder etc.		1		10							
Shoemaker etc.	1	1			47						
Miller		1				13					
Tailor	1	3		1			21				
Saddler etc.		1						9			
Baker	2	2							20		
Butcher	3	4								15	
Carpenter etc.		5	4			1					54
Farmer		11	1	1		2				4	
Others	6	8	1			1					1

COLUMN KEY:

- (1) Grocer etc.

(2) Publican etc.

(3) Blacksmith etc.

(4) Builder etc.

(5) Shoemaker etc.

(11) Carpenter etc.
- (6) Miller

(7) Tailor

(8) Saddler etc.

(9) Baker

(10) Butcher

TABLE 17b.--Numbers recording single or dual occupations:
Kelly's directory 1850.

Occupation	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Grocer etc.	69										
Publican etc.	7	105									
Blacksmith etc.		6	28								
Builder etc.		2		10							
Shoemaker etc.		2			36						
Miller		2				13					
Tailor	2	2					15				
Saddler etc.								10			
Baker	5	1				1			20		
Butcher	3	4								18	
Carpenter etc.	1	6	4						1		37
Farmer	1	3		1		8				1	2
Others	6	7		1							2

COLUMN KEY:

- (1) Grocer etc.

(2) Publican etc.

(3) Blacksmith etc.

(4) Builder etc.

(5) Shoemaker etc.

(11) Carpenter etc.
- (6) Miller

(7) Tailor

(8) Saddler etc.

(9) Baker

(10) Butcher

TABLE 18a.--Numbers recording single or dual occupations: census enumerators' books 1891.

Occupation	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Grocer etc.	73										
Publican etc.	5	118									
Blacksmith etc.	2	3	29								
Builder etc.		3		32							
Shoemaker etc.		3			50						
Miller						8					
Tailor							13				
Saddler etc.	1							9			
Baker	7	5							24		
Butcher	1	1								25	
Carpenter etc.	2	6	1	3							49
Farmer	5	9		4		4				4	
Others	21	24	6	4	4	2	2	2	2	3	4

COLUMN KEY:

(1) Grocer etc.	(6) Miller
(2) Publican etc.	(7) Tailor
(3) Blacksmith etc.	(8) Saddler etc.
(4) Builder etc.	(9) Baker
(5) Shoemaker etc.	(10) Butcher
(11) Carpenter etc.	

TABLE 18b.--Numbers recording single or dual occupations:
Kelly's directory 1890.

Occupation	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Grocer etc.	65										
Publican etc.	6	182									
Blacksmith etc.	1	3	30								
Builder etc.		2		22							
Shoemaker etc.	1				35						
Miller						11					
Tailor		1					7				
Saddler etc.	1							10			
Baker	10	4							20		
Butcher	2	3								17	
Carpenter etc.	1	3	3								37
Farmer	1	4	1	3		4			2	3	1
Others	19	10	4	4	1	1	1	1	4		2

COLUMN KEY:

(1) Grocer etc.	(6) Miller
(2) Publican etc.	(7) Tailor
(3) Blacksmith etc.	(8) Saddler etc.
(4) Builder etc.	(9) Baker
(5) Shoemaker etc.	(10) Butcher
(11) Carpenter etc.	

Barker, of Anstey parish, appeared as shoemaker/grocer in the 1851 census enumerators' books and as shopkeeper only in the 1850 directory. It can probably be assumed that the dual occupations of blacksmith and shoemaker were present also in 1850 but not recorded in the directory. Thus the volume of mismatched dual occupations can, together with matched dual occupations, provide a very crude indication of the extent of duality in the rural economy.

Tables 17a, 17b, 18a and 18b show the incidence of recorded dual occupations from the census enumerators' books and the directories. The majority of occupations were recorded singly in both sources, although some occupations occurred as a subsidiary activity more frequently than others.

Shopkeepers and publicans recorded a higher proportion of dual occupations while boot makers and saddlers each tended to be full-time occupations. Most dual occupations comprised combinations from within the selected trades, with the exception of miller, which occurred most frequently in combination with farmer. In 1851, significant numbers of traders gave 'farmer' as an alternative occupation, but these numbers had declined by 1891. This suggests that substantial farming activities were not carried on by the traders as a secondary occupation in this period, although, traditionally, many tradesmen and craftsmen have always been associated with smallholdings. The occupations which occurred frequently as dual occupations are those that recorded a low linkage rate. A variety of other trades and

crafts also featured as dual occupations, among them hurdle maker and marine store dealer.

Women's crafts and trades, such as dressmaking and straw-plaiting, are virtually absent from the directories. Moreover, it seems that the census enumerators' books were variable, also, in their recording of female occupations. For example, the occupation of straw-plaiter was seldom recorded in the census enumerators' books for St. Paul's Walden for 1851, but was much more extensively recorded in those for 1891. Recording of female occupations may have depended on how the individual census enumerator interpreted the directives for completing the information on the enumeration forms. However, women in higher status enterprises, such as widows of master craftsmen and tradesmen (who had taken on the business after the death of the husband) were more often recorded in both the census enumerators' books and the directories. Thus, in studies of female occupations, both sources need to be treated with caution.

This evaluation of sources for the study of rural craftsmen and tradesmen in the nineteenth century produced similar results for the two study dates, 1850/1 and 1890/1. For typical central place studies, the sources provided information which was indistinguishable at the 0.05 significance level. This means that the probability of obtaining the results by chance is five out of one hundred. There was also good agreement in numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen and numbers of crafts and trades for the small regions considered. However the results became less

predictable when the level of detail was increased to take in the study of individual parishes or specific occupations. Therefore, directories should be treated with caution as sources for the detailed study of occupational structure at the level of the parish, but these do have the advantage over the census enumerators' books in indicating employment status much more consistently. Use of the linked sources can shed much new light on the regional stability of various trades, the extent of dual occupations and can provide indicators of social status for studies of social status.

The Board of Trade, Abstract of Schedules for Returns of
Acreages of Crops, 1866²⁴

The Board of Trade began an annual collection of agricultural returns in 1866. The original returns related to individual holdings, the minimum size of which in 1866 was five acres. Prior to 1917, the crop returns were collected on a voluntary basis and, where these were lacking, estimates were made. All the original returns have been destroyed and the lowest units of aggregation are the parish summaries compiled from these returns. The parish summaries cover England and Wales and extend from 1866 with very few gaps. They are listed by year, then by county, for each year. Numbers of livestock and the acreage of crops are recorded for each parish, but not the names of owners or other details of individual holdings. Therefore this source cannot provide information allowing the reconstruction of distinctive landholding patterns within parishes.

²⁴ P.R.O. Ref. MAF 68/32 and 68/33.

The Hertfordshire parish summaries for 1866 are used in Chapter 8 to determine the similarity of land use of two study areas in agricultural Hertfordshire. The summaries were an appropriate source in that they provided information concerning the acreage of crops for each parish in the study areas for the same year. Actual acreages and estimated acreages were recorded for each parish. Tables 81 and 82 in Appendix 1 show, in columns 1 and 2, the parish acreages recorded in the 1801 census, and the acreage recorded in the summaries. The latter has been calculated, for the purposes of this analysis, by adding together the returned and estimated acreages respectively. In some cases, the acreage recorded in the summaries exceeded the parish acreage recorded in the census.

Coppock has investigated the relationship of farm boundaries and parish boundaries and their effect on agricultural statistics. He found that there was no comprehensive survey of farm boundaries until 1941-3 and that 'the acreages of parish summaries and the extent of the parish on the ground cannot be exactly equated.'²⁵ Thus, the total area in the parish summary may exceed the actual area of the parish because there was no well-defined connection between farm and parish: a farm could lie in two parishes but the return was only recorded against one parish name. However, he also found that 'it is more probable that farm and parish were more nearly accordant in 1866 than at present.'²⁶

²⁵ J. T. Coppock, 'The relationship of farm and parish boundaries: a study in the use of agricultural statistics' in Geographical Studies, Vol. 2, 1955, 17.

²⁶ Ibid., 23.

Despite the limitations of the parish summaries as a data source, these still provide us with a comparable record for each locality under examination. In this study they have been used to compare the types of land use in the two study areas, not to estimate the actual acreage devoted to particular crops. If it is assumed that any errors in the estimated and actual acreages returned are randomly distributed, then the parish summaries may be analysed statistically, as in Chapter 8, to investigate any significant differences in patterns of land use between two areas.

Parish Registers

Parish registers were required from 1538 and involved the recording of each marriage, baptism and burial, although there was no standard format established for recording the information before 1813. As a consequence, there is much variation in the quality of information recorded in the registers, both over time and between parishes. For marriage registers, the minimum required was the name of the two parties to the marriage. Often the parish of residence was also supplied for the bride and groom. Where this is not stated it is usually assumed that the parish of residence is the same as that in which the marriage took place, however this is only certain if the incumbent wrote 'of this parish' in the register. The burial registers also showed variation. The minimum information was the name of the deceased and the date of burial.

Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753, limited to England and Wales, increased uniformity in the recording of marriages. Weddings were only to be solemnised after the publication of banns which were recorded at the back of the register or in a separate book. Bound volumes of specially printed forms on which to register marriages were introduced. This generally improved the quality of the registrations and largely confined the marriage ceremony to the premises of the Church of England.

Rose's Act of 1812 similarly standardised the burial and christening registers. From 1 January 1813, the incumbent was to keep two specially printed registers to record christenings and burials. Burial entries now stated the age, address and occupation of the deceased. As with the marriage registers, the use of printed forms generally improved the quality of registrations, provided that the forms were correctly and fully completed.

It is generally believed that the parochial registers provided a fairly comprehensive record of baptisms, marriages and burials for the eighteenth century. However, there is evidence of substantial under-registration in the nineteenth century, both of births (baptisms) and of burials. Wrigley and Schofield have estimated that as many as one-third of burials were not recorded in Anglican registers by 1810.²⁷ Those unregistered in church registers were accounted for partly by entries in nonconformist

²⁷ E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction, London: Edward Arnold, 1981, 77.

records, by the non-registration of the burials of unbaptised children, and partly by burials in private graveyards.

Nineteenth-century burial registers and marriage registers for the parishes of Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden are used in Chapter 9 to determine the extent to which members of craftsmen and tradesmen households remained in their respective parishes over time, where nominal record linkage between adjacent censuses was not successful. Successful nominal record linkage between members of craftsmen and tradesmen households recorded in the census enumerators' books and entries in the marriage and burial registers occurred in only a small minority of cases. The hamlet of Whitwell in St. Paul's Walden parish was noted as a centre of nonconformity in the nineteenth century and there may have been significant under-registration in the Anglican registers. Thus the number of persons assumed to have left St. Paul's Walden and Much Hadham during 1851-1891 may be overstated.

Land Tax Assessments

After authorisation by an Act of 1692, the government introduced the Land Tax in England and Wales as a form of government revenue. Its scope included real estate, property including buildings as well as land, and moveable goods. It was also a form of income tax on salaries from certain public offices and from tithes. The Land Tax contributed about 11 per cent of public revenue from the

1820s.²⁸ At the end of the eighteenth century, the government separated the land and property items of the Land Tax from the salaries.

In the nineteenth century, the Land Tax was a fixed tax with a quota of assessment applied to each county. The county administration was responsible for distributing the quota among the county's townships and parishes.

There are a number of limitations and difficulties associated with use of the land tax assessments as sources for the structure of landownership in individual parishes. These have been discussed at length by Turner and Mills and are summarised briefly here. Firstly, the distribution of tax was not proportional to acreage because it was unequal among parishes.²⁹ Secondly, 'from 1798 because of a change in the annual Land Tax Act, all of the smallest owners the value of whose property was less than 20 shillings per annum were no longer chargeable to the Land Tax making comparisons involving small men before and after 1798 hazardous.'³⁰ Thirdly, 'the smaller the land element in the total property the larger the landowner's dwelling house or other buildings in the tax assessed. The tendency is to overestimate the amount of land owned by the smaller owners.'³¹ Fourthly, 'Land Tax Assessments appear systematically to underestimate

²⁸ M. Turner and D.R. Mills, eds., Land and Property: The English Land Tax 1692-1832, Alan Sutton, 1986, 2.

²⁹ Ibid., 7.

³⁰ Ibid., 9.

³¹ Ibid., 10-11.

the concentration of ownership and the number of owners per parish.³² Related to this problem, 'when distribution of landownership is broken down into detailed size categories discrepancies between tithe and land tax variables are greater and less obviously systematic.' In particular, the number of holdings over 1,000 acres or less than one acre may be underestimated.³³ 'The main unrecorded group is small owners, especially owning little more than an acre or a cottage and garden.'³⁴

However, there are also situations where the Land Tax Assessments may be used effectively in situations involving individual parishes and between parishes. 'Estimates from the Land Tax are an accurate reflection of actual landownership distribution. Within a parish they portray an accurate rank order of landownership. In terms of relative landownership size and distribution it can be used with considerable confidence.'³⁵ 'Land Tax Assessments can be used with reasonable confidence in comparison of relative differences in concentration and dispersion of ownership between parishes, although the absolute figures will be lower than those derived from Tithe Surveys. Details of absolute numbers are much less reliable.'³⁶

³² Ibid., 44.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 49.

³⁵ Ibid., 21.

³⁶ Ibid., 50-51.

Land Tax Assessments for the parishes of St. Paul's Walden³⁷ and Much Hadham³⁸ are used in Chapter 10 as a source for the study of the landownership structures of the two parishes. In both cases, the latest surviving Land Tax Assessments are used: the 1825 assessment for St. Paul's Walden, and the 1838 assessment for Much Hadham.

The two Land Tax Assessments differed somewhat in presentation. The names of the proprietor and occupier, a description of the property, and the tax assessed, were recorded in the Land Tax Assessment for Much Hadham. That for St. Paul's Walden listed the names of the proprietor and occupier, the rent and the tax assessed. There was insufficient detail recorded in both assessments to be able to identify craftsmen or tradesmen proprietors or occupiers without linkage to other sources. Nominal record linkage was attempted with the Tithe Surveys for the corresponding parishes. This has limited success in that only a minority of craftsmen and tradesmen were linked with any degree of certainty. As has been mentioned above, small landowners tended to be under-represented in the Land Tax Assessments and the majority of landowning tradesmen and craftsmen fell into this category.

In line with the above findings regarding appropriate uses of Land Tax Assessments, those for Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden were used to compare the landowning structures of the two parishes. The taxes assessed were grouped into

³⁷ C.R.O. Ref. 1/75.

³⁸ C.R.O. Ref. 1/72.

tax bands for ease of comparison and the percentage of the total was computed for each band. The percentages were compared for each parish.

Tithe Surveys

Theoretically, tithes were a tenth of income, and went towards the upkeep of the incumbent of the parish church. Under the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, which applied in England and Wales, tithes could be commuted to a rent-charge, and commissioners were appointed to negotiate fair land values with the inhabitants. Tithes were extinguished altogether by the Tithe Act of 1936. As a consequence of the Act, detailed parish maps were produced together with terriers. Each map showed each piece of land involved and the details as to acreages, land usage and the names of owners and occupiers were recorded.

Tithe surveys have survived for many parishes in England and Wales and enable us to reconstruct patterns of land use, crops, fields, farms and estates in the early 1840s.³⁹ A limitation is that they record only static information, thus they cannot be used to analyse the processes of agrarian change over time without recourse to additional sources. Also, there is evidence that not all land was surveyed in each parish. This involved land which was not subject to tithe, or whose tithe had previously been redeemed.⁴⁰ Since the tithe survey was usually confined to

³⁹ R.P. Kain and H.C. Prince, The Tithe Surveys of England and Wales, Cambridge University Press, 1985, 256.

⁴⁰ B. Short, The geography of England and Wales in 1910, 55.

a single ecclesiastical parish or similar unit, holdings that crossed the parish boundary are not included in full in that parish and thus may be understated, and the survey does not indicate that this is the case. Therefore the number of smaller holdings in a parish are likely to be overstated.⁴¹

On the positive side, the tithe surveys

represent every type of holding from fragmented open-field tenements to compact ring-fence units; of fields, both enclosed and unenclosed, in every variety of shape and size. They provide a record of the use of land; whether cultivated or uncultivated, arable or grass, orchard or hop ground, heath or marsh, wood or agricultural unproductive. They also provide a record of names of landowners and occupiers, and of the fields belonging to them. They can tell us how much titheable land belonged to estates of various sizes and how much was owned by the church, the universities, the railway companies, and by the nobility, the gentry, and the peasantry....From them we can discover what land was farmed by owner-occupiers or by tenant farmers, how much woodland or cottage property was occupied by owners and by tenants, and how much land was occupied by commons or highways.⁴²

Unlike the land tax assessments, therefore, the tithe surveys do record the landholdings of small owner-occupiers and tenants, in particular, those of craftsmen and tradesmen. In Chapter 10, the Tithe Surveys for Much Hadham⁴³ and St. Paul's Walden,⁴⁴ awarded in 1838 and 1841 respectively, are used to determine the landownership structure of substantial landowners and of landholding patterns of craftsmen and tradesmen in these parishes for the respective years. Identification of craftsmen and

⁴¹ Ibid., 57.

⁴² Kain and Prince, Tithe Surveys, 257.

⁴³ C.R.O. Ref. DSA 4 45/1.

⁴⁴ C.R.O. Ref. DSA 4 107/1.

tradesmen, where this was not evident in the survey, was obtained by nominal record linkage with the census enumerators' books for 1851, the Post Office Directory, 1845, and Kelly's directory, 1850. Recording of substantial landowners and their holdings may have been understated where their holdings crossed parish boundaries, but if it is assumed that the same conditions prevailed in both parishes, it is instructive to compare the numbers of large landowners and the size of their holdings for the two parishes.

The New Domesday Book of Hertfordshire, 1873

The New Domesday Book of Hertfordshire was compiled from official returns in 1873. The entries for residents of St. Paul's Walden and Much Hadham are used in Chapter 10 to compare the landholdings of large landowners in the two parishes. This source was much less detailed than the Land Tax Assessments and the Tithe Surveys. Only landowners with large holdings in Hertfordshire were listed, together with their parish of residence. Direct comparison with either the Tithe Award or the Lloyd George 'Domesday' of landownership was not feasible because of the lack of detail and also because the sources were fairly widely separated in time.

Lloyd George 'Domesday' of Landownership

Lloyd George's 1910 Finance Act required a valuation of all land to be carried out by the Inland Revenue. The main documents associated with this survey of landownership are the Valuation Books, Forms of Return, Field Books, and Ordnance Survey Sheets. These documents contain

comprehensive data on owners' and occupiers' names and addresses and land and property ownership. Thus identification of individuals and the study of landownership are possible using these sources.⁴⁵

Short has assessed the validity of comparing the Valuation data with the Tithe Surveys.⁴⁶ As with the Tithe Surveys, there are problems with hereditaments that cross parish boundaries.⁴⁷ Thus, 'any comparison between the Tithe Surveys and the 1910 data that relies on Valuation and Field Books alone, is only possible within substantial margins of error.'⁴⁸

The Valuation Books for Much Hadham⁴⁹ and St. Paul's Walden⁵⁰ are used in Chapter 10 to provide information regarding landholding patterns in the two parishes in 1910. Valuation Books should contain details of hereditament address, names of occupier(s), name(s) and address(es) of owner(s), area and value. All this information was present in the Valuation Books for St. Paul's Walden, but that for Much Hadham lacked the area of each hereditament. Thus the

⁴⁵ B. Short, 'Local demographic studies of Edwardian England and Wales: The use of the Lloyd George 'Domesday' of landownership' in Local Population Studies, No. 51, August 1993, 62-72, 66.

⁴⁶ Short, 'Geography,' 55-60.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 57.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 59.

⁴⁹ C.R.O. Ref. IR2/1/1.

⁵⁰ C.R.O. Ref. IR2/46/1.

Field Books for Much Hadham⁵¹ were consulted to obtain the corresponding acreages for each hereditament.

In Chapter 10, comparisons are drawn between the Tithe Survey and the 1910 Valuation. These are not at the level of individual hereditaments, but rather, compare, in general terms, the landownership structure of the study parishes and the tenurial patterns of craftsmen and tradesmen. Thus many of the problems associated with detailed comparisons of individual holdings are by and large avoided.

In this chapter we have examined the suitability of the nineteenth-century documentary sources used in the research upon which this thesis is based. We shall move on to consider, in Chapter 5, ways in which the urban and rural communities of nineteenth-century Hertfordshire may be distinguished.

⁵¹ P.R.O. Ref. IR/58/39043.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY HERTFORDSHIRE--IDENTIFYING URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

Town and Village: Different in Kind

Nineteenth-century Hertfordshire was a county of small market towns, villages and hamlets; and, generally speaking, the country market towns depended, for the most part, on the surrounding agricultural communities for their prosperity.¹ The market town was the central place serving the villages in its hinterland, partly via the weekly livestock and retail markets, the context in which villagers were able to sell their agricultural produce, and to buy items not readily available in villages. Hiring fairs were held annually or more frequently in the market towns, and these enabled farmers to hire necessary labour for the year. Livestock fairs, also, were often a major event in the towns, such as the cattle fair held at Chipping Barnet in Hertfordshire. Village craftsmen and tradesmen used the town market day for business purposes. Davey cites the example of a master wheelwright from Ashwell, Abraham Therne, who plied his craft in villages in a ten-mile radius centred on Ashwell. He arranged business during his regular visits to Royston market.²

¹ J. Brown, The English Market Town: A social and economic history 1750-1914, Crowood Press, 1988, 8-10. Also, W.T.R. Pryce, 'Towns and their regional settings' in W.T.R. Pryce, ed., From family history to community history, Cambridge University Press in association with The Open University, 1994, 121-142.

² B.J. Davey, Ashwell, 1830-1914: The decline of a village community, Department of English Local History Occasional Papers Third Series, No. 5, Leicester University Press, 1980, 15.

There were discernible differences in many respects between town and village. Christaller distinguished between market towns and smaller settlements in his formulation of Central Place Theory. He placed the market towns at the bottom of the urban hierarchy, postulating that rural settlements were dependent on the market towns for goods and services.³ Thus, Christaller did not consider market towns to be rural settlements per se, although they were essential to the rural economy. According to Christaller, market towns were central places while villages and hamlets were dispersed settlements. Market towns offered higher-order goods in addition to the basic essential or dispersed goods and services. Villages offered only 'low order' or dispersed goods and services. These were essentials that, of necessity, had to be supplied near the consumer, and for which there was inelastic demand.

Weatherill has pointed out that consumption patterns also varied between town and village. In her study, based on probate inventories, of consumer behaviour in the eighteenth century, she found that 'there were few differences between the provincial towns and rural areas in the ownership of staple goods, used alike for essential purposes in town and country.' Many of these 'staple goods' were produced by village and town craftsmen and tradesmen alike. However, some goods, 'the decorative and new goods were much more common in the towns' and included, in the

³ W. Christaller, Central Places in Southern Germany, translated by C.W. Baskin, Prentice-Hall, 1966.

eighteenth century, pictures and window curtains.⁴ These types of goods were readily available in the towns but rarely in villages.

There also appear to be differences in the ways in which village economies functioned in comparison with towns. George Sturt [Bourne], writing of the nineteenth-century area in which he lived, stated that 'business was conducted in the spirit of the village' and as a result, 'Men worked to oblige one another.'⁵ Credit was often extended to regular customers in the village. To some extent there existed an informal barter economy where villagers rendered services to one another and there was less craft and trade specialisation than in the towns. The village economy thus appeared to operate more informally than the town economy and depended for its functioning on mutual trust.

Apprenticeship to a craft or trade is another area in which town practices appeared to be more formal than their rural equivalents. Apprenticeships in towns were often formal contractual agreements involving the payment of a fee. In the village, the craft or trade apprentice was, in many cases, the son of the craftsman or tradesman. Continuation of the business was thus through informal arrangement and, probably, was not subject to Guild control.

⁴ L. Weatherill, Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain, 1660-1760, Routledge, 1988, 75-79.

⁵ G. Sturt, The Wheelwright's Shop, Cambridge University Press, 1923, repr. 1975, 197.

Even the occupations themselves were different in town and village. Often, urban blacksmiths and wheelwrights in the nineteenth century were employees of engineering concerns, while their rural counterparts were less specialised and more creative, making farm implements and vehicles to individual specifications, to suit the farmer and the locality, using traditional methods of working handed down through the generations. The village bootmaker produced made-to-measure boots for villagers, but the urban bootmaker was often only a small component in a large boot and shoe manufacturing concern.

Distinguishing Town and Village Communities

Distinguishing between towns and villages is not a straightforward exercise. Size is not a reliable guide. However, towns tended to contain a greater range of crafts and trades than the villages and a lower proportion of their occupied populations was employed in agriculture. However, possession of a market can be used to distinguish a small town, such as Baldock, from a large village, such as Standon.⁶

The aim of the research on which this thesis is based is to examine rural service provision in relation to rural self-sufficiency. Therefore, there is a practical requirement to distinguish nineteenth-century Hertfordshire rural settlements from those that could be considered to be urban or suburban.

⁶ Brown, Market Town, 12-15. Also, W.T.R. Pryce, 'Towns and their regional settings' in From family history to community history, 121-142.

Millard and others have classified the various approaches to defining rurality into categories which relate to the degree of precision in terms of measurement: distinctive attributes of non-urban residents, descriptive (intuitive) approaches, population or census-based approaches, urban shadow approaches and analytical approaches and techniques.⁷ These are surveyed briefly below.

Sociological techniques have been applied to the identification of distinctive attributes of non-urban dwellers which are assumed to differ from those of town dwellers. In particular, kinship networks and obligations are believed to influence rural economic activity in a way which is discernibly different from that in the towns. For example, Loomis observed that 'close human relationships developed through kinship' in rural communities and these were 'linked to place through a common habitat and showing cooperation and coordinated action for the common good.'⁸ Although there appeared to be a distinctive rural attitude to economic activities in the nineteenth-century, the evidence for such attitudes is very scanty and is derived from comments by contemporary commentators, such as George Sturt, who wrote about specific times and places. The

⁷ J. Millard, P. Dreyer, T.F. Jensen, J. Blunden and W.T.R. Pryce, Final Report from TYPORA: A study on the typology of rural areas for telematics applications, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1993.

⁸ C.P. Loomis, Community and Society, Michigan State University Press, Ann Arbor, 1957.

sociological approach cannot therefore be systematically applied to nineteenth-century Hertfordshire settlements to distinguish urban settlements from rural because the data required are not available on any significant scale.

The census authorities provided statistics for the urban and rural populations in England and Wales in 1851, although there was no attempt to classify settlements into urban and rural groupings. The rural population was essentially defined to be the population which was not urban. Law has discussed the limitations of definitions of rurality based on administrative definitions. He has pointed out that the boundaries of urban/rural administrative districts did not necessarily coincide with objective urban/rural boundaries. Also, urban administration designations varied from one part of the country to another making it difficult to compare like with like. Law has also discussed the attempts by various geographers to recalculate urban and rural populations from the nineteenth-century census reports.⁹ For example, Vince has recalculated the proportions of the population in rural or urban areas from 1801 to 1951. He calculated the ratio between 70 large towns with over 20,000 people in 1851 and the total urban population for that year as estimated in the census. He assumed this ratio was the same for earlier censuses and used it to calculate the urban and rural

⁹ C.M. Law, 'The Growth of Urban Population in England and Wales, 1801-1911,' Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 41, June 1967, 125-129.

population for the period 1801-1841.¹⁰ His approach emphasises the shortcomings of the official statistics but does not provide a means of identifying individual rural settlements.

Definitions of twentieth-century rurality using population size or density based on census data have been developed by several census users. These definitions vary significantly between countries. For example, the Central Statistics Office of Ireland defines an 'aggregate rural area' to have fewer than 100 persons per rural district and is the population residing in all areas outside clusters of 1500 or more persons. In contrast, the Presidency Council of Ministers of Portugal defined rural areas to encompass a greater population range than those in Ireland: (1) elementary rural centres comprised 800-7,000 persons, plus basic amenities; (2) rural assistance centres comprised 2,000-5,000 persons with between 5,000 and 10,000 persons living within a 7-8 km radius, plus a wider range of amenities than in (1); and, (3) principal rural centres comprised c. 5,000 persons with 10,000-20,000 living within a 7-8 km radius, plus a wider range of amenities than in (2).¹¹ The direct application of such twentieth-century definitions based on population size or density to nineteenth-century settlements would be wholly inappropriate in view of the findings of Cloke and Edwards: '...rurality changes over time as well as over space and ... great care

¹⁰ S.W.E. Vince, 'The rural population of England and Wales, 1801-1951,' Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (1955), 5.

¹¹ J. Millard and others, TYPORA, 33-37.

should be taken in the stereotyping of rural areas without regard to the temporal component of change.¹²

Urban shadow approaches acknowledge that urban-based influences may be discerned in twentieth-century rural areas. Pahl has demonstrated that there were urban values and lifestyles in Hertfordshire rural areas in the mid-twentieth century.¹³ Pacione has also distinguished between agricultural villages and metropolitan or dormitory villages in the twentieth century.¹⁴ The transformation of some rural areas into satellites of towns, particularly London, was a process which had already begun by the nineteenth century when a small number of professional people resided in the villages while working in the towns. For example, Kelly's directory, 1902 listed a banker and a public vaccinator as residents of Much Hadham, a small settlement in rural Hertfordshire. However, there were relatively few professional people resident in the smaller settlements. Although the railways made commuting from Hertfordshire to London, or other major urban centres, a real possibility from the mid-nineteenth century, commuters only became established in certain areas, usually the market towns, for example, Watford and St. Albans, and towards the end of the century, in villages such as Knebworth. The urban shadow approach therefore does not appear to be appropriate to the

¹² P.J. Cloke and G. Edwards, 'Rurality in England and Wales 1981: A replication of the 1971 index,' Regional Studies, 20(4), 1986, 303.

¹³ R.E. Pahl, Urbs in Rure, Department of Geography, London School of Economics, Geographical Paper No. 2, 1965.

¹⁴ M. Pacione, Rural Geography, Harper and Row, 1984, 157, 170.

study of Hertfordshire settlements in the nineteenth century, while the concept of rurality does appear to be a useful one in this context in general terms.

Descriptive approaches have been used to characterise different types of villages. Pacione has presented a social typology of villages, stressing types of land use. He formulated a list of rural attributes such as low population density, loose networks of infrastructure and services, tight networks of personal contacts and strong identity with home localities.¹⁵ Again, the problem with applying this approach to the nineteenth century is that there is insufficient availability of suitable socio-economic data.

Analytical approaches and techniques include multivariate methods which are difficult to apply to nineteenth-century data for much the same reasons. Multivariate approaches assume that settlements may be ranked according to their degree of rurality. An index of rurality is calculated for each settlement. Settlements may then be compared with each other via the index. The degree of rurality of a settlement can therefore only be gauged in relation to that of other settlements. For example, Grafton's approach developed in connection with planning issues for Wales involved the construction of an index for rural settlements using such socio-economic variables as unemployment, commuting, rateable value per head and numbers

¹⁵ Ibid., 384.

of persons retired.¹⁶ 'The technique used was a summed-rank analysis whereby each rural district was assigned a rank according to its relative position on each of the variables, and a total rank calculated by summation of the individual rank scores.'¹⁷ Implicit in this type of approach is the concept of the rural-urban continuum. In principle, settlements may be positioned along the continuum depending on their degree of rurality. However, '[principal components] analysis at the level of small-scale units such as civil parishes and enumeration districts represents too high a level of disaggregation for the rurality index technique with its acknowledged limitations.'¹⁸ Thus this technique cannot be applied to individual nineteenth-century Hertfordshire settlements with any degree of validity.

With regard to twentieth century rurality, 'the availability of appropriate data is, perhaps, the single most challenging problem in seeking to establish a typology of rural areas.'¹⁹ The lack of suitable data is an even more acute problem in establishing the rurality of nineteenth-century settlements. However, probably such approaches as the so-called sociological approach, descriptive (intuitive) approaches and land-use based approaches are more applicable to nineteenth century

¹⁶ D. Grafton, 'Planning policy and socio-economic changes in post-war Montgomeryshire' in The Changing Countryside, Proceedings of the first British-Dutch Symposium on Rural Geography, Norwich, 1982, ed. G.Clark and others, Geo Books, Norwich, 1984, 207-219.

¹⁷ Ibid., 207.

¹⁸ Cloke and Edwards, 'Rurality,' 290.

¹⁹ J. Millard and others, TYPORA, 41.

settlements than the concepts of the 'urban shadow' and multivariate techniques which seem to be more relevant to establishing twentieth century rurality.

Distinguishing Towns and Villages in Hertfordshire

Although many of the approaches to defining rurality cannot be applied to nineteenth-century Hertfordshire settlements because of lack of available data, a definition which may be used is that formulated by Law. This is an analytical technique for identifying nineteenth-century urban settlements based on land use. Law identified three criteria of urban settlements: (1) a minimum population of 2,500, (2) a minimum population density of one person per acre, and (3) a degree of nucleation.²⁰ Law was aware that the minimum population size of 2,500 excluded small market towns. This is found to be the case when the definition is applied to Hertfordshire settlements. Using Law's definitions, no settlements in Hertfordshire qualify as urban in 1801; 14 do qualify by 1901.

There were 125 settlements in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire. Seventeen of these were small market towns. Most of the remainder were village settlements whose primary economic activity was agriculture. There were few local industries: straw-plaiting, a female-dominated domestic industry in the west of the county; papermaking, a localised industry centred in the south-west of the county; and malting, centred on the market town of Ware.

²⁰ Law, 'Growth,' 129-130.

As nucleated settlements tended to be the norm in the county, Law's third criterion was assumed to be fulfilled if the first two conditions for an urban settlement had been satisfied. The population density of each small centre was calculated by dividing the population recorded at each census by the parish acreage (the parish was the minimum unit for which census population data and acreages were available). This approach was problematic for several reasons. Firstly, some settlements had an extensive parish acreage--for example, Hatfield, whose acreage exceeded 12,000. Although the population exceeded 2,500 by 1811, the overall parish population density was less than unity throughout the century. At the other extreme, the parish of Baldock covered a mere 200 acres and the population density exceeded unity--although the parish population was less than 2,500 throughout the period.

In reality, Law's criteria were designed for general application to identify all settlements in England and Wales. His particular aim was to be able to estimate the urban population of England and Wales in the nineteenth century. The population of Hertfordshire increased more slowly than that in England and Wales generally and the settlements remained small. By 1901, the population had increased sufficiently for fourteen settlements in Hertfordshire to fulfil Law's criteria. Ten of these were market towns; four were settlements discharging other functions. Seven market towns did not fulfil the minimum population requirement and/or the population density criterion at any time during the nineteenth century.

Many rural areas in England and Wales experienced significant rural depopulation during the nineteenth century while, during the same decades, the urban population continued to increase. Hertfordshire saw a 159 per cent population increase, an absolute increase in numbers of 152,234, in the century 1801-1901. For England and Wales, the population increase in 1801-1901 was 23,635,307, a growth amounting to some 266 per cent. Over 19 per cent of Hertfordshire's population growth occurred in the market town of Watford. St. Albans had the second largest increase, over 10 per cent of the county increase. Other significant increases occurred in Barnet (including Chipping Barnet and East Barnet)--seven per cent of the county's growth, Cheshunt and Hemel Hempstead--six per cent each, and Hitchin--five per cent. Between them, the population increases in these seven settlements accounted for over half of the county population increase. Not all of these settlements were market towns; East Barnet and Cheshunt did not possess markets at any time during the nineteenth century.

In contrast, some market towns were less successful as regards population increases. For example, Baldock experienced only a 40 per cent increase in population during 1801-1901, compared with the county average of 159 per cent. Buntingford experienced an even lower increase--23 per cent. These two market towns were situated in the north-east of the county, a rural area which saw some depopulation in 1801-1901. The two towns reached a peak in population

during the century, Baldock in 1871 and Buntingford in 1851. This was followed by population decrease towards the end of the century, reflecting the situation in their respective hinterlands.

These patterns of population increase in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire were by no means unique and, indeed, they may have been fairly typical of other counties whose economic activity was primarily based on agriculture. For example, the population increase of Lincolnshire during 1801-1901 was 138 per cent of which most of the increase was in just four towns: Lincoln, Grimsby, Scunthorpe and Cleethorpes.²¹ Depopulation occurred in many of Lincolnshire's rural settlements. In these respects, similarities exist between the two counties.

The four Hertfordshire settlements which did not possess a market but which could be classified as urban during the nineteenth century on grounds of population size and density were: Great Amwell, East Barnet, Cheshunt and Bushey. Bushey adjoined the market town of Watford which had experienced a larger rate of population growth than the county average during the century, increasing from 3,530 to 32,559 in the period 1801-1901, an increase of 822 per cent. This was proportionately greater than the county population growth. Watford's population increases were partly attributable to the creation of a major railway junction in the town by the mid-nineteenth century. Bushey became a

²¹ W. Page, ed., Victoria History of the County of Lincolnshire, Vol 2, 358.

suburb of Watford and fulfills Law's criteria for urban status in 1871. Great Amwell adjoined the market towns of Ware and Hertford and attained a population density greater than unity and a population size exceeding 2,500 by 1881. Both East Barnet and Cheshunt were on the Hertfordshire/Middlesex border and experienced population growth as a result of London's urban sprawl, fulfilling Law's criteria by 1871 and 1891 respectively. The parish boundary of East Barnet was extended in the 1880s and included a larger population than previously.

All these four settlements can be regarded as 'subtowns'. These are similar to Smailes' 'sub-centres':

In place of the small town of the past, modern developments have produced the monstrous frameless conurbation. Its advancing front of buildings engorges previously separate villages and neighbouring towns. Thereafter these once independent settlements tend simply to be sub-centres in peripheral areas of the conurbation, foci for the local shopping, entertainment, and other services of the suburbs.²²

Although Christaller distinguished between market towns and villages, Law does not consider market towns to be a distinct group. Those market towns which did not fulfil Law's criteria for urban settlements appear to occupy an intermediate position between town and village.

Carter proposes a functional approach for determining the status of a town, defining three prime urban functions:

Central place functions, or general services, which

²² A.E. Smailes, The Geography of Towns, Hutchinson University Library, 1st. ed., 1953, repr. 1968, 107.

are carried out for a more or less extensive but contiguous area;

Transport functions which are carried out at break of bulk points along the major lines of communications;

Special functions which are carried out for non-local, non-contiguous areas. These could include extractive and manufacturing industries with world wide markets, or indeed minor industries whose distributive areas are smaller than the general service area.²³

Those towns which functioned as central places would be expected to attract and adopt new services and functions relative to other settlements.

To aid the decision of whether to classify the market towns of nineteenth-century Hertfordshire as rural settlements, indicators of contemporary perceptions of centrality have been examined.

A list of the post towns and 'principal places' of Hertfordshire in the early nineteenth century may be obtained from Paterson's Roads which was produced primarily to describe the national transport system.²⁴ There is a strong relationship between market towns and Paterson's 'principal places'. (See Table 19) All seventeen market towns with the exception of Broxbourne and Hoddesdon were listed in Roads. However, a number of the 'principal places' listed did not possess an active market: Barkway, Cheshunt, Great Gaddesden, Harpenden, King's Langley, Redbourn, Sawbridgeworth, Stanstead Abbots, Watton and Welwyn.

²³ H. Carter, The Study of Urban Geography, 3rd. ed., Edward Arnold, 1981, 37.

²⁴ Paterson, A New and Accurate Description of the Roads in England and Wales, 13th ed., 1803, 893-899.

Petty sessional divisions predated the nineteenth century. Seven out of the eight petty sessional divisions in the county were in the market towns (See Table 19).

A number of new commercial and administrative functions appeared in the nineteenth century. Among these are the Poor Law Union administration, the provision of money orders, and the installation of gas works. The distribution of each of these nineteenth-century services is compared with the distribution of the market towns in Table 19.

TABLE 19.-- The distribution of central place functions.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Market Towns	17	16	12	7	17	10
Subtowns	4	1	0	1	1	0
Remaining settlements	104	9	1	0	2	0
Total	125	26	13	8	20	10

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- 1 Number of settlements in each category.
- 2 Paterson's 'principal places', 1803.
- 3 Poor Law Unions.
- 4 Petty Sessional Divisions.
- 5 Settlements possessing a Money Order Office, 1845.
- 6 Settlements possessing a Gas Works, 1845.

Sources: Paterson's Roads; Post Office Directory, 1845.

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 established locally-elected Boards of Guardians to have charge of the local administration of poor relief. The Act also obliged local officials to form parishes into unions to make the provision of in-door relief and large workhouse buildings viable. The

administration was centred in designated Union towns.²⁵ Thirteen Union centres were created in Hertfordshire. These were market towns with the exception of Welwyn. Thus administrative functions reinforced the already existing commercial centrality of the market towns. Five parishes: Caddington, Cheshunt, Kensworth, Little Gaddesden and Studham were served by Union centres outside the county. Conversely, the Barnet, Berkhamsted, Bishop Stortford and Royston Unions served adjoining parishes outside the county.

Money order offices were the first financial service to be supplied by the Post Office. The money order office had been run from 1792 as an officially sanctioned private concern carried on within the department under the control of the 'clerks of the road' in London with the postmasters as agents. It became an official service in 1838. Money orders allowed transmission of small sums through the post. A person wishing to transmit money could go to a Post Office and buy a money order for any sum up to £5 5s. in return for a commission of sixpence for any sum up to two pounds and one shilling and sixpence for sums between two pounds and five pounds. The rate was reduced in 1840 to threepence and sixpence respectively and the introduction of the Penny Post in the same year reduced postage. The order specified the name of the purchaser and recipient and the office at which payment would be made. The purchaser would send the order to the recipient, a letter of advice was despatched to the post office at which it was to be presented and the details

²⁵ H. Carter, An introduction to urban historical geography, London, Edward Arnold, 1983, 93.

were recorded and transmitted to London. The procedure offered protection against theft. The limit of five guineas was set deliberately to confine the money order system to areas of the financial market not covered by the commercial banks. The system was established to enable the poorer classes, including small craftsmen and tradesmen, to remit small sums of money. The venture had only a partial success because a money order and postage were expensive and most remittances continued to be made by enclosing cash in letters. In 1881 postal orders were introduced as a cheaper alternative to small unprofitable money orders.²⁶

Not all post offices possessed facilities for the issue and payment of money orders. Money order offices were established in centres deemed by the post office to be of sufficient centrality to serve the neighbourhood. This is why the existence of money order facilities at a specific centre is of considerable interest in the context of any study concerning the provision of services in the rural community. The Post Office Directories and Kelly's Directories listed those post offices possessing full postal facilities, including money order offices. In 1845 Hertfordshire recorded some 20 places with money order offices, including all the market towns, as well as three places lacking active markets: Cheshunt, Sawbridgeworth and Welwyn.

²⁶ M. J. Daunton, The Post Office since 1840, Athlone Press, 1985, 84-5, 89.

Robson has suggested that the possession of a gas works is a valid indicator of the diffusion of entrepreneurial innovation and also, the commercial vigour of the adopting town. In a national study of the diffusion of gas works he found that by the mid-nineteenth century, the vast majority of towns with a population of more than 2,500 possessed a gas company. There was a general tendency for new gas installations to diffuse down the urban hierarchy from larger to progressively smaller towns.²⁷

TABLE 20.--Number of central place functions in market towns and subtowns.

Place	No. of functions (Out of five)	Fulfilled Law's Criteria in 1901
Towns		
Baldock	3	No
Bishop's Stortford	5	Yes
Broxbourne and Hoddesden	1	Yes
Buntingford	3	No
Chipping Barnet	5	Yes
Great Berkhamstead	3	Yes
Hatfield	3	No
Hemel Hempstead	4	Yes
Hertford	5	Yes
Hitchin	5	Yes
Rickmansworth	2	No
Royston	5	No
St. Albans	5	Yes
Stevenage	2	No
Tring	3	No
Ware	4	Yes
Watford	4	Yes
Subtowns		
Bushey	0	Yes
East Barnet	0	Yes
Cheshunt	3	Yes
Great Amwell	0	Yes

²⁷ B.T. Robson, Urban Growth : An Approach, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 178-180.

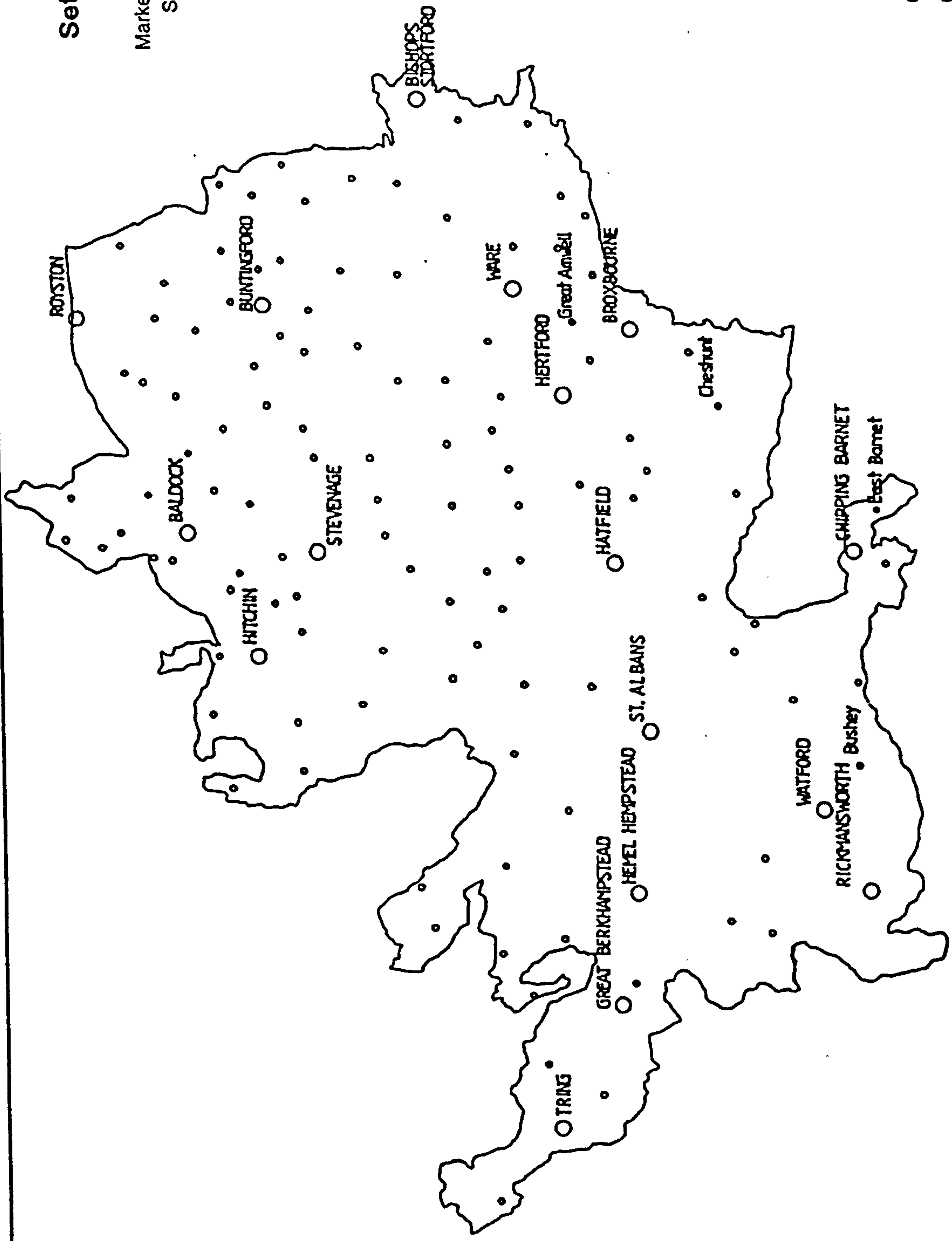
By 1845 there were ten Hertfordshire places possessing gas companies. These were all market towns. Four were in the north of the county, six in the south. The data sources for gas works were the Post Office directory, 1845 and Kelly's directories, which were used to determine the distribution of gas companies in Hertfordshire from 1845 to the end of the century. The accuracy of the directories in recording the existence of a local gas works is unreliable. For example, Bishop Stortford was recorded as having a gas works in 1845 and 1902 but not in 1878. Despite these obvious data discrepancies, the early adoption of gas works indicates that the market towns were functioning as the central places in the county in the nineteenth century.

Although, as we have seen in Table 19, Paterson's 'principal places' showed the least agreement with the town-subtown-village classification, distribution of the selected central place functions coincided strongly with the distribution of market towns. No market town in Hertfordshire was noticeably deficient during the nineteenth century in the six functions displayed in Table 19, with the exception of Broxbourne and Hoddesdon, which possessed only one of the six functions, a money order office. There is much less correspondence between the six functions and the four settlements which fulfil Law's criteria. Thus, the market towns provided central place services upon which the villages were dependent, as predicted by Christaller.

It should be noted that a detailed study of goods and services, consumed by country people, but produced in the

Figure 8
Settlement Types

- Market Towns
- Subtowns
- Villages



towns, is outside the scope of this research. Although nineteenth-century villages were dependent on the towns for some provisions, we are interested in a detailed examination of only those goods and services that were produced within the village and consumed locally. This detailed analysis is presented in Chapters 6 to 8.

The Population Distribution

Figure 8 shows the location of the different types of settlement. There are clear differences between the agricultural north and more heavily populated south of the county. Table 20 enumerates the market towns and subtowns and indicates, for each place, how many central place functions, out of the five discussed in the text, were present.

Table 21 shows the populations and proportions for each of the three settlement types from 1801-1901. More than half of the population of Hertfordshire were village dwellers in 1801. This proportion fell to less than one-third by 1901. Five per cent of the county population resided in the subtowns in 1801, but the proportion of the population in this group more than doubled by 1901. From 1871 at least half of the population lived in the market towns. Therefore there were distinctive trends in population growth in each of the three groups. The proportion of the population present in the market towns steadily increased in 1801-1901: the subtowns experienced the most rapid population growth. In contrast, the

proportion of the population in the village group declined steadily during the same decades.

TABLE 21.-- Population of Hertfordshire by types of settlement, 1801-1901.

Census	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1801	41,940	43.8	5,154	5.4	48,735	50.9	95,829
1811	47,244	44.3	6,271	5.9	53,013	49.8	106,528
1821	56,635	44.7	7,500	5.9	62,704	49.4	126,839
1831	64,379	45.9	8,475	6.0	67,453	48.1	140,307
1841	71,611	46.6	10,220	6.7	71,676	46.7	153,507
1851	78,078	47.6	10,644	6.5	75,343	45.9	164,065
1861	82,523	48.6	12,262	7.2	75,168	44.2	169,953
1871	94,305	49.9	17,231	9.1	77,612	41.0	189,148
1881	105,033	52.2	19,032	9.5	76,999	38.3	201,064
1891	116,531	53.4	23,012	10.6	78,501	36.0	218,044
1901	140,589	56.7	28,771	11.6	78,703	31.7	248,063

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- 1 Population of market towns.
- 2 Population of market towns as percentage of total.
- 3 Population of the subtowns.
- 4 Population of the subtowns as percentage of total.
- 5 Population of villages.
- 6 Population of villages as percentage of total.
- 7 County population.

Source : Victoria County History of Hertfordshire (1906-1914), Vol. 4, edited by William Page, 235-238.

There were complex processes at work in the county during the nineteenth century. Pahl has written at length on the urban nature of Hertfordshire in the twentieth century.²⁸ Some Hertfordshire villages were transformed gradually but progressively from agricultural villages to metropolitan villages, dormitories for London commuters. This was made possible by the railway system which was in place by the middle of the nineteenth century. The subtowns of Bushey, East Barnet and Cheshunt are twentieth-century

²⁸ R.E. Pahl, Urbs in Rure.

metropolitan suburbs but, during the nineteenth century, were merely villages in the process of change. It is no coincidence that three out of the four subtowns were on the county boundary bordering on Middlesex, now Greater London. The southern half of Hertfordshire, being nearer to London, was more affected by this process than the traditionally more agricultural north.

Nineteenth-century Hertfordshire villages, therefore, were a mix of agricultural villages and villages that acquired urban or suburban characteristics.

The issue of rurality is by no means settled. There remains some considerable ambiguity and doubts as to whether possession of an active market is a sufficient criterion for distinguishing between urban and rural settlements. Without seeking to prolong the debate as to whether it is possible to classify settlements consistently as urban or rural, for the purposes of this study the settlements of Hertfordshire have been grouped into the three categories described in this chapter: market towns, subtowns, and villages. Each of these groups formed a distinctive settlement type that can be identified by the application of the criteria that have been explored: (1) possession of a market; (2) other central place functions, and/or (3) population size or density. The next chapter returns to the theme of rural self-sufficiency, building on the important distinctions that have been reviewed here.

CHAPTER 6

VICTORIAN RURAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY : MYTH OR REALITY?

The notion of self-sufficiency has long been an integral part of the popular conception of traditional English village life. Nineteenth-century observers and twentieth-century rural historians have commented at length on the erosion of a centuries-old way of life which, it is generally assumed, had been experienced by the majority of the population before the Industrial Revolution.

Writers, while attempting to describe the process of village decay in various regions, have often tried to pinpoint the causes and its effect on occupational structures in the traditional village.

Walter Rose wrote in 1942 of life in Haddenham, a large Buckinghamshire village, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century:

Although agriculture, in my own village, was the basis of its prosperity, almost all the other crafts essential to rural life were carried on within its bounds. Some built the houses and kept them in repair, and others made the clothes and boots that the people wore. There were blacksmiths and saddlers and hurdle-makers and plough-makers and wheelwrights and thatchers.¹

That agriculture was the foundation of the traditional village economy and essential to its vigorous continuance was observed also by Springall in Norfolk:

¹ W. Rose, Good Neighbours: Some recollections of an English village and its people, Cambridge University Press, 1942, 33.

Agricultural depression hastened the decay of village social life.... Builders and carpenters came upon lean times; wheelwrights and blacksmiths suffered with them, since farmers had taken to importing new iron machines which needed in their repair, a technical knowledge they did not possess. Millers closed their mills, for foreign corn was ground in the ports or at larger mills equipped with newer machinery. The village tailor disappeared, for people preferred the cheap, ready-made clothes displayed in the shop windows of the neighbouring town, or offered on attractive terms by travelling packmen. The village shopkeeper suffered more than anyone. There were fewer people to supply, and rivals were developing country rounds as tolls on the turnpike roads were abolished and the gentry withdrew their custom. They, or their more wealthy successors, preferred weekly deliveries by rail from a town store, and occasional visits to fashionable tailors and dressmakers. The older generation of village tradesmen and artisans carried on and made both ends meet with the help of some subsidiary employment, such as cultivating a piece of land, but when they died their sons did not succeed them, for they had left the parish.... In this silent revolution the village became almost entirely dependent upon Norwich, and other large towns for supplies of common necessities....

The agricultural depression destroyed the sturdy independence which had become characteristic of so many villages in the seventies.²

It was generally perceived that toward the end of the nineteenth century, village decay resulted in increasing dependence upon the towns for clothing and other basic necessities. Traditional village craftsmen experienced decline in demand for their services partly as a consequence of new technology and increased productivity, both in agriculture and in food production. Improved transport and communications made the towns more accessible and, in turn, this made the new cheap mass-produced clothing and footwear increasingly available to villagers.

² L.M. Springall, Labouring life in Norfolk villages, 1834-1914, Allen & Unwin, 1936, 96-7, 102.

The decline in demand for village-based services had a differential effect on the traditional rural crafts and trades, and this also varied between regions. While Springall emphasised the problems of the village shopkeeper, Robin, writing of the Essex village of Elmdon stressed the problems of the craftsmen:

The first businesses to go were those run by the small, independent craftsmen such as the bricklayer, the carpenter, the thatcher, the tailor and the shoemaker.... A major change over the period was the disappearance of what were essentially family businesses in which members of the family were absorbed until saturation point was reached.³

There was a generally recognised difference in kind between the craftsmen and tradesmen:

As late as 1835, one investigator has said 'every farmhouse, every agricultural labourer's cottage and the habitation of almost every smith, carpenter, mason and wheelwright in the rural districts was more or less a manufacturing establishment'....

The 'shop habit', however, is not proper to the countryside and in contrast to the almost fanatical self-supporting trend of the peasant it has the look of a betrayal.⁴

The proliferation of village shops was thus equated with a loss of individual independence and village self-sufficiency. The process of decline in household and individual independence is believed to have been evident from the eighteenth century. For eighteenth-century villagers, 'the local shop was a convenience and a

³ J. Robin, Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village: 1861-1964, Cambridge University Press, 1980, 132.

⁴ E. W. Martin, The secret people: English village life after 1750, Phoenix House Ltd., London, 1954, 200-2.

necessity.⁵ Nineteenth-century observers commented upon the variety of activities engaged in by individual non-specialists. George Bourne, writing in 1912 of life in the village of Bourne, Surrey, at the end of the nineteenth century, drew a clear distinction between village life before the presence of the village shop and that which followed:

It was of the essence of the old [peasant] system, that those living under it subsisted in the main upon what their industry could produce out of the soil and materials of their own countryside. A few things ... they might get from other neighbourhoods, such as iron for making their tools, and salt for curing their bacon; and some small interchange of commodities ... between the various districts that yielded cheese and wool, and hops, and charcoal; but as a general thing the parish where the peasant people lived was the source of the materials they used and their wellbeing depended on their knowledge of its resources. Amongst themselves they would number a few special craftsmen--a smith, carpenter or wheelwright, a shoemaker, a pair of sawyers and so on; yet the trades of these specialists were only ancillary to the general hardiness of the people, who with their own hands raised and harvested their crops, made their clothes, did much of the building of their homes, attended to their cattle, thatched their ricks, cut their firing, made their bread and wine or cider, pruned their fruit-trees and vines, looked after their bees, all for themselves....

... the once self-supporting cottager turned into a spender of money at the baker's, the coal merchant's, the provision dealer's and ... needing to spend money, he needed to get it.⁶

Bourne observed that along with independence and self-sufficiency, there was also an element of lateral

⁵ Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England, London: Routledge, 1989, 157.

⁶ G. Bourne [Sturt], Change in the village, Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., London, 1955, first published 1912, 77-8, 89.

interdependence⁷, where villages or districts would specialise in certain goods and services to their mutual benefit.

Even the craftsmen themselves were less specialised in the eighteenth century than they became subsequently. Ashby writes of the varied occupations of a village smith in Gloucestershire:

[The smith] makes staffpikes and dung pikes ... stockbands for the hubs of heavy carts; ... cow-knobs ..., 'loggers' ... thimbles for gates, 'syvel trees' for harness, 'cleats' to prevent ropes from slipping ... puts new hoops on every kind of pail or barrel, makes paddles for cleaning ploughs, for weeding ... hold fast nails, sneads for scythes, 'tuckholes in a gun', fromards for handle-making, nebirons, 'hapses' and 'keyes' ... 'tusks a shear' or share and 'steels an ax' and makes knives and press irons for chaff boxes There are, it seems, few tools he cannot mend or improve.

Besides farmers, the craftsmen need the smith's services The shoemaker needed few tools: he comes to Lawrence only for 'feet' and nails and hammers and a taw (or tew) iron.

Women come to the smith: for them he makes pattens He mends their warming-pans, their fire-grates and jacks for cooking, puts hoops on the wooden bottles they fill with ale for the field. Flatirons, gridirons, tongs, brewing-kettles and tea-kettles are all brought for repair....

He makes lanterns for the yards, bolts and locks and keys for the doors At one time he bought large quantities of worsted 'gray whist', gray, and black and sold it by the 'top' In the same way, the smith buys single and double Gloucester cheeses from farmers, of any weight from two to fifteen pounds. At times he will buy a carcase of sheep or ox and sell that too.

Another craftsman who comes to him for supplies is the tailor who buys thread from him many times and

⁷ I. R. Weekley, 'Lateral interdependence as an aspect of rural service provision: a Northamptonshire case study,' East Midland Geographer, vol. 6, 361-74.

Besides providing a service to agriculture, this smith also served the needs of other craftsmen and villagers generally. In addition to his work as a smith he also informally engaged in general dealing.

Whereas in the nineteenth century, villagers were able to purchase town-made products from the village shops, earlier there was need for carrier links with the market towns to obtain the raw materials and other items which the village economy could not supply. There is evidence from more than one region that much informal dealing, carriage and delivery was engaged in by villagers with the necessary transport.

For example, in Huntingdonshire from the mid- or later-seventeenth century, farmers were making increased investments in carts and wagons. Moving a little further south, the Buckinghamshire Posse Comitatus of 1798 shows that farm transport continued to develop in that county. Chartres notes that while only five carriers were listed, and these appeared first in a village with a population of around 420 persons, the census showed that many vehicles were available. In the county as a whole, there was a wagon to every 7.5 households, a cart to every four, and a horse to every 1.7 households. Therefore there was much potential for transporting goods from town to country, even though there were few formally designated carriers. The informal

⁸ M. K. Ashby, The changing English village: A history of Bledington, Gloucestershire, in its setting, 1066-1914, Roundwood Press, Kington, 1974, 227-8.

carriers were often farmers or smallholders for whom this service was a subsidiary occupation.⁹

That an informal carrier system was widespread is supported by evidence from rural Warwickshire in the 1780s:

We have two hucksters or fruiterers living at Wellford, who I suppose are partners. They seldom fail of [*sic*] going hence to Birmingham once a week with fruit, calves, and whatever they can get carriage of, and commonly load back with coals for our neighbourhood....¹⁰

Not all villages were self-sufficient in basic goods and services. The pattern of landownership was known by contemporary observers to have a significant influence on the tone and spirit of village life. Walter Rose comments of his village:

The spirit of independence ... has always been a characteristic of the natives. It is of moment to note that, throughout the centuries of pre-enclosure life, this village rarely had a residential overlord to order its habits and ways. Its principal manor was vested in a far-distant monastery, and was ruled through agents at the manorial farm. Evidence remains that these rules were enforced and services duly rendered; beyond which the mind is free to picture the holders each secure on his plot, or plots, of land, and to understand that an assured independence naturally developed from this systematic cultivation.¹¹

⁹ J. A. Chartres, 'Country trades, crafts and professions,' in The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 6, 1750-1850, ed., G. E. Mingay, gen. ed., J. Thirsk, Cambridge University Press, 1989, 441.

¹⁰ Correspondence of the Rev. J. Greene of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1712-90, ed., L. Fox, Hist. Mss. Comm. J. P. 8 1965. June 8, 1780, 131, quoted in Chartres, 'Country trades.'

¹¹ W. Rose, Good Neighbours, vi.

With reference to land-use and accessibility, Bourne was of the opinion that:

To the enclosure of the common more than to any other cause may be traced all the changes that have subsequently passed over the village.¹²

Although Bourne over-emphasised the effects of enclosure, which had its most far-reaching effects on the landless farm workers in the villages, landlord control, or the lack of it, was a major contributory factor to the occupational structure of the village and hence to the degree of self-sufficiency to which it attained. The nineteenth century was the era of the landed estates. In some villages a single landlord, or small group of landowners, were able to exercise such control over village settlement as to exclude or discourage entrepreneurial activity by craftsmen or tradesmen. Such closed villages obtained services and farm workers from nearby open villages where absentee landlords or a fragmented pattern of landownership resulted in more freedom for individual craftsmen or tradesmen to set up in business. Closed villages often had a smaller population than open villages and frequently contained insufficient population numbers to support the establishment of rural craft and trade businesses. In contrast, open villages often acted as service centres for neighbouring closed villages and, in a period of increasing demand for rural services, were able to attract additional craftsmen and tradesmen.

¹² G. Bourne, Change, 86.

Trends and Concepts

Out of the plethora of comments and opinions of scholars and contemporary observers, it is possible to isolate common trends and concepts of village self-sufficiency. Household self-sufficiency, which was equated with subsistence farming, was a medieval characteristic that persisted for centuries and declined slowly, as far as we know. This type of self-sufficiency had probably died out by the nineteenth century. However, some self-sufficiency was in evidence during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: in fact, three broad phases may be discerned.

The first is that of household independence and village self-sufficiency in services, characterised by the absence of shops and the presence of some specialised village craftsmen: at least a blacksmith, a carpenter or wheelwright, and a bootmaker. All the basic essentials are produced in the village, by the craftsmen or by individual householders without specialist training. This may be regarded as a watered-down version of household self-sufficiency.

The next phase is characterised by a loss of household independence, greater specialisation by the village craftsmen and the appearance of various shops in the village: for example, a grocer or general shopkeeper and perhaps a baker and butcher, selling village- or town-produced goods.

Finally, village self-sufficiency is eroded; craftsmen and tradesmen decline in numbers while goods are purchased from the nearby town or from large service villages, or from town dealers who make the rounds of the villages bringing their goods to purchasers.

Individual villages were affected at varied times and in various ways. New shops would be attracted to the towns and to the more accessible villages with a favourable market for goods and services. Thus, services would tend to concentrate in larger, central villages that included populations able to sustain a realistic demand for rural provisions and which could serve as centres for smaller, less-favoured villages. In this way a hierarchy of villages developed in some localities.

Mingay effectively encapsulates the generally accepted view of the erosion of traditional village life in the nineteenth-century:

The old independence of the countryside and its near self-sufficiency was whittled away by the growth of the town-based dealers who brought round their factory-made bread and clothing, their branded groceries and railway-carried fish. Town emporiums drove the village craftsmen out of business, unless they could survive by turning to some new specialisation, like the wheelwrights and blacksmiths who made agricultural implements and still thrived on the continued importance of the horse and cart and pony and trap. The larger villages, however, saw their once large array of crafts and trades decline to a mere handful. Villages in general tended either to shrink and become more purely agricultural, or to grow and become more thoroughly industrial.¹³

¹³ G. E. Mingay, ed., The Victorian countryside, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, vol. 1, 8.

In line with the above discussion, the crafts and trades which must have been present in a nineteenth-century village (relatively self-sufficient in basic day-to-day items) are: a blacksmith or farrier, a carpenter or wheelwright, a boot or shoe maker, a grocer or shopkeeper, and a public house, hotel, or beer retailer.¹⁴

As we saw in Chapter 2, blacksmith and farrier were related and commonly united crafts. Farriers were also known as shoeing smiths and were the forerunners of the veterinary surgeon. Both blacksmiths and farriers had specialist knowledge of the anatomy and diseases of the horse's foot. The tasks of the village smith evolved during the nineteenth century: welding, ironwork, the retyring of wooden wheels and welded repairs to farm machinery increased as did repairs of bicycles and other mechanical work. The blacksmith was thus the forerunner of the agricultural engineer.

The carpenter's craft was closely related to the occupations of woodworkers, joiners and sawyers. The wheelwright often acted as village carpenter and sometimes as cooper and millwright. There was a range of status in the carpenter/wheelwright group. At the lower extreme were the estate carpenter, frequently an employee of the large landowner, and the rough carpenter, who had not usually

¹⁴ There were other commonly-found crafts and trades in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire villages which were less essential than the five groups mentioned here. These non-essential services included: butcher, builder, baker, tailor, saddler and miller. These six trades and their distribution in rural Hertfordshire are discussed in Chapter 7.

served an apprenticeship. The master carpenter had a higher status. The wheelwright had the highest status and was responsible for making wheels and carts which were often crafted to suit local tastes.¹⁵ The carpenter usually served as the village undertaker.

According to Walter Rose, 'almost all the village boots were made to order and to measure.'¹⁶ One gains the impression that farm workers generally possessed two pairs of boots, one pair for work and the other for Sunday best. If the work pair needed repair, the bootmaker had to be available to attend to them. Typically, new boots were purchased annually with money from harvest earnings.

The three functions of grocer, draper and general shopkeeper were frequently combined in one village shop which often also served as the village post office. Items such as groceries, especially tea, sugar and candles, and sometimes drapery, which were in constant demand by villagers, were stocked at the grocer's shop. Villagers generally would not make a special trip to the market town to purchase such items. Also the shopkeeper frequently provided much-needed credit for the labouring poor who were often short of ready money.¹⁷

¹⁵ G. Sturt, The Wheelwright's Shop, Cambridge University Press, 1923, repr. 1975.

¹⁶ W. Rose, Good Neighbours, 43.

¹⁷ Mui and Mui, Shops, 157.

The public houses performed many functions as commercial and social foci of the village: as stages for horses; stations for stallions during the breeding season; entertainment; labour exchange; organising groups for draining, ditching, harvesting, beating; corn exchange; arrangement of transport; distribution of the mails; stables; meals; buying and selling; venues for the collection of rents and taxes; auctions; providers of information and news; inquests; bases for the Tithe Commissioners; venues for vestry and, later, parish council meetings. Labourers, after toiling all day in the fields, sought the relatively comfortable surroundings of the inn or beer house as a respite from the often cramped conditions at home.

A vital factor common to each of these services is that they were often required at very short notice, or had to be rendered on the spot. The craftsman or tradesman who provided these essential services therefore either had to reside in the village or be within easy travelling distance of the village.

Although the absolute numbers employed in the five basic occupational groups increased steadily during the period, the proportion of the occupied population employed varied between 8.2 per cent to 8.9 per cent during the period with a slow decrease from 8.7 per cent in 1871 to 8.2 per cent in 1901 (Table 22).

TABLE 22.--Employment in basic crafts and trades, England and Wales, 1851-1901
(000)

Occupation	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Grocer/draper/ shopkeeper	161.2	165.8	225.4	267.0	342.5	390.4
Inn/hotel/ beer seller	75.7	82.0	93.4	86.7	95.6	99.9
Wheelwright/ carpenter/ joiner	184.6	208.0	236.1	264.0	249.0	299.6
Blacksmith/ farrier	100.9	115.0	119.1	120.0	143.2	140.0
Clog/boot/shoe/ patten maker	243.9	255.6	224.6	224.1	248.8	251.1
Total	766.4	826.4	898.7	961.8	1079.1	1181.1
Occupied population	8602.9	9668.1	10315.7	11187.6	12899.5	14328.7
% of occupied population	8.9	8.5	8.7	8.5	8.4	8.2

Source: Decennial census reports as for Table 1.

NOTE:

The Inn/hotel/beer seller category includes servants.

The 1901 Inn/hotel/beer seller category contains cider dealers.

The 1901 Clog/boot/shoe maker/patten maker category excludes dealers.

Employment in the Essential Crafts and Trades

The numbers employed in the individual craft and trade occupational groups displayed considerably greater variations. The number of blacksmiths and farriers employed in England and Wales rose each decade until 1891, then decreased in the decade 1891-1901. The corresponding numbers of carpenters and wheelwrights rose each decade from 1851 to 1901 with the exception of a decrease in the decade 1881-1891. Chartres and Turnbull have associated the demand

for carpenters with the economic fluctuations of the building trade and this explains the variation in figures.¹⁸

Boot and shoe maker numbers reached a peak in 1861, then declined, although there was an increase in 1881-1901. In contrast to the craft occupations, the numbers employed in the grocer and publican occupational groups increased steadily from 1851 to 1901.

The numbers employed in the basic services in Hertfordshire declined absolutely in 1871-1881, reflecting the absolute decline in the total occupied population (Table 23). As a proportion of the total occupied population, the numbers increased from 7.9 per cent in 1871 to 9.6 per cent in 1901. This was in significant contrast to the decreasing trend in England and Wales as a whole over the same period.

In addition, there was more variation in the numbers employed in the individual crafts and trades. A decrease occurred in the numbers of blacksmiths and farriers employed in the decades 1871-1881 and 1891-1901, but the numbers of carpenters and wheelwrights rose each decade apart from a decrease in 1851-1861.

There were no clog makers in Hertfordshire, but the number of bootmakers employed in the county broadly reflected the national trend, reaching a peak in 1861.

¹⁸ J.A. Chartres and G.L. Turnbull, 'Country Tradesmen' in G.E. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, 1981, Vol. 1, 317.

TABLE 23.--Employment in basic services, Hertfordshire,
1851-1901.

Occupation	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Grocer/draper/ shopkeeper	1359	1467	1907	1961	2417	2542
Inn/hotel/ beer seller	1143	1209	1174	1097	1101	1924
Wheelwright/ carpenter/ joiner	2167	2088	2263	2267	2317	3411
Blacksmith/ farrier	782	908	944	906	1018	943
Clog/boot/shoe/ patten maker	1503	1586	1335	1261	1124	1066
Total	6954	7258	7623	7492	7977	9886
Occupied population	85067	88739	96980	86046	90885	102790
% of occupied population	8.2	8.2	7.9	8.7	8.8	9.6

Source: Decennial census reports as for Table 4.

Bootmaking was mechanised by the end of the nineteenth century and, as a result, the industry became concentrated in specialist areas. In consequence, Hertfordshire, not a boot and shoemaking centre itself, imported boots from other regions by the end of the nineteenth century.

Employment in the grocery and associated trades in the county echoed the broad trends prevailing in England and Wales. Chartres has found that the grocery trades were well-established in villages in Norfolk and the North Riding of Yorkshire by the 1820s. Probably this was the case in Hertfordshire. Chartres also found that general shopkeeping grew significantly after the introduction of the railways

which acted as a stimulus to further diffusion of trade.¹⁹ Nevertheless, there does not appear to be a strong relationship between the opening of new railway systems in Hertfordshire and the spatial distribution of grocer/draper/general shopkeepers in the county.

The numbers in the publican group again reflected trends in England and Wales, with the exception of a decline in the period from 1871 to 1881. The public house was the most widely-established of Hertfordshire village service provisions, supporting Chartres' view that this may have been the earliest of the retail trades to diffuse down the settlement hierarchy to the village level.²⁰

Distribution of the Essential Crafts and Trades in Hertfordshire

Table 24 below shows how the essential rural services were distributed in Hertfordshire settlements for 1759-1902. All the essential services were present in the majority of settlements for all the years for which figures are available.²¹ The crafts of carpenter/wheelwright and

¹⁹ J.A. Chartres, 'Country Trades,' 304.

²⁰ Ibid., 303.

²¹ The figures for 1759 refer to the number of parishes, while those for the other years refer to settlements. Some towns such as St. Albans, Hertford and Hemel Hempstead spread over several parishes and it was not possible to assign all the services recorded in the trade directories to individual parishes within each of these towns.

TABLE 24.--Distribution of essential services: all settlements.

	1759		1855		1878		1902	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blacksmith/farrier	96	73	90	74	97	78	93	75
Carpenter/wheelwright	102	77	82	67	84	67	75	61
Boot and shoe maker	80	61	66	54	72	58	66	53
Grocer/shopkeeper	-	-	97	80	108	86	102	82
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	-	-	106	87	115	92	114	92
Total settlements	132		122		125		125	

N = number of parishes containing at least one of the study services.

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.
P. D. Glennie, 'A commercialising agrarian region: late medieval and early modern Hertfordshire,' Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1983, Table 8.7, 167.

boot and shoe maker achieved a greater diffusion in Hertfordshire parishes in 1759 than in any of the later study years while the number of settlements possessing a blacksmith was similar in 1759 and 1878, taking into consideration the different bases for the 1759 figures and those of the other years. Publicans and grocers attained a peak in numbers in 1878.

Table 25 shows that each service was present in the greatest number of villages in 1878. With the exception of boot and shoe maker in 1855 and 1902, each essential service was present in the majority of villages for each study year.

The distribution of services suggests that there was a decline in the numbers of essential rural craftsmen between the middle of the eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century relative to the numbers of rural tradesmen. These

two retail trades were present in a greater proportion of parishes than the crafts for each study year. This suggests that rural services were dominated by shops rather than by craft occupations from at least the mid-nineteenth century onwards, indicating that the second phase of village self-sufficiency predominated--although the villages were self-sufficient, there had been an erosion of household independence, with increased reliance on the village shops. The absence of data for the distribution of grocers and public houses in 1759 means that comparisons as to the proportions of essential crafts and trades in Hertfordshire parishes between the mid-eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century are impossible. However, the evidence that is available suggests that Hertfordshire villages conformed to general trends in experiencing a loss of household independence in the nineteenth century, but that village self-sufficiency was maintained.

TABLE 25.--Distribution of essential services: villages.

	1855		1878		1902	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blacksmith/farrier	69	70	77	74	73	71
Carpenter/wheelwright	62	52	64	62	55	53
Boot and shoe maker	46	47	52	50	45	44
Grocer/shopkeeper	76	76	87	84	81	79
Pub/hotel/inn/beer etc.	85	85	94	90	93	90
Total villages	101	100	104	100	104	100

N = number of villages containing at least one of the study services.

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.

TABLE 26a.--Number of outlets, 1855.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages	Total
Blacksmith/farrier	83	11	110	204
Carpenter/wheelwright	95	18	139	252
Boot and shoe maker	166	16	92	274
Grocer/shopkeeper	430	43	242	715
Pub/hotel/inn/beer retailer	410	29	273	712
Total	1184	117	856	2157

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855.

TABLE 26b.--Percentage of outlets, 1855.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages
Population present	48.4	6.9	44.5
Blacksmith/farrier	40.7	5.4	53.9
Carpenter/wheelwright	37.6	7.1	55.2
Boot and shoe maker	60.6	5.8	33.6
Grocer/shopkeeper	60.1	6.0	33.8
Pub/hotel/inn/beer retailer	57.5	4.1	38.3
Total	54.9	5.4	39.7

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855.
Victoria County History of Hertfordshire
(1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol 4,
235-238.

NOTE:
The 1855 population is estimated to be the mean of the 1851
and 1861 census populations.

Tables 26-28 show the number and proportion of outlets relative to the population for each of the five essential rural services in each of the three study years, for the three groups of settlements defined and described in Chapter 5. The crafts had the greatest number of outlets in all settlements in 1878, while the two trades of grocer and

publican recorded a corresponding peak in 1902. Blacksmiths and bootmakers recorded the greatest number of rural outlets in 1878, while the peak for carpenters occurred in 1855. Grocers and public houses increased throughout the period shown, although the greatest percentage for the village-based trades, relative to their urban counterparts, occurred in 1878 and 1855 for grocers and public houses respectively.

TABLE 27a.--Number of outlets, 1878.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages	Total
Blacksmith/farrier	90	12	126	228
Carpenter/wheelwright	121	19	136	276
Boot and shoe maker	228	35	108	371
Grocer/shopkeeper	544	102	344	990
Pub/hotel/inn/beer retailer	520	44	321	885
Total	1503	212	1035	2750

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1878.

TABLE 27b.--Percentage of outlets, 1878.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages
Population present (1881)	52.2	9.5	38.3
Blacksmith/farrier	39.5	5.3	55.3
Carpenter/wheelwright	43.8	6.9	49.3
Boot and shoe maker	61.5	9.4	29.1
Grocer/shopkeeper	54.9	10.3	34.7
Pub/hotel/inn/beer retailer	58.8	5.0	36.3
Total	54.7	7.7	37.6

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1878;
Victoria County History of Hertfordshire
(1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol. 4,
 235-238.

TABLE 28a.--Number of outlets, 1902.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages	Total
Blacksmith/farrier	83	20	105	208
Carpenter/wheelwright	80	11	96	187
Boot and shoe maker	239	34	89	362
Grocer/shopkeeper	757	146	328	1231
Pub/hotel/inn/beer retailer	575	52	329	956
Total	1734	263	947	2944

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1902.

TABLE 28b.--Percentage of outlets, 1902.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages
Population present (1901)	56.8	11.6	31.7
Blacksmith/farrier	39.9	9.6	50.5
Carpenter/wheelwright	42.8	5.9	51.3
Boot and shoe maker	66.0	9.4	24.6
Grocer/shopkeeper	61.5	11.9	26.6
Pub/hotel/inn/beer retailer	60.1	5.4	34.4
Total	58.9	8.9	32.2

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1902;
Victoria County History of Hertfordshire,
(1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol. 4,
235-238.

Comparison with the population distribution for each type of settlement showed that, for each study year, there was a slight concentration of blacksmiths and wheelwrights in the villages, while bootmakers, grocers and public houses were slightly overrepresented in the towns. The subtowns were underrepresented in four out of the five basic services. Only the proportions of grocers exceeded the population proportion. Predictably, three subtowns: Bushey, Cheshunt, and East Barnet, possessed the five basic services

for each of the three years. More interestingly, the subtown of Great Amwell lacked some of the basic services throughout the period. In 1855, this settlement lacked a bootmaker and carpenter/wheelwright, in 1878 bootmaker, blacksmith and carpenter/wheelwright were absent services, and in 1902 there was no carpenter/wheelwright. The inhabitants of the village of Great Amwell, situated two miles from the market town of Hertford and two and a half miles from the market town of Ware, could easily have obtained basic services from either of these two centres.

If the concentration of outlets (i.e. number of outlets expressed as a percentage of the county total compared to the population numbers expressed as a percentage of the county total) is greater than the county average concentration, we cannot simply conclude that a village or rural area is necessarily self-sufficient in a good or service. In some localities, for example, Northampton, shoe-making formed part of a domestic putting-out industry. This could have resulted in greater concentrations of shoemakers in rural areas who were fulfilling more than purely local demand. However, apart from straw-plaiting and paper-making in some localised areas, there were no significant local industries in Hertfordshire. Therefore, it may reasonably be concluded that village-based shoemakers and other essential service providers would be meeting local demand for their goods and services. Another potential pitfall is that the county as a whole may have been deficient in some service provision which was more commonly found in villages, such as millers (discussed in more detail

in Chapters 7 and 8). In this case, a higher-than-average rural concentration of such services would not be an indicator of self-sufficiency because grain or flour could have been imported from centres outside the county. However, it seems reasonable to conclude that, because the geographical range of the service was relatively small, in Hertfordshire in the nineteenth century, a relative concentration of any of the five basic services in an area was an indicator of self-sufficiency in that service provision.

Taking the five essential services in total, the subtowns were under-represented relative to the population in each of the three study years. The villages had slightly fewer outlets per head of population for the years 1855 and 1878, slightly more in 1902. The services were well-represented in the towns in all the study years.

Predictably, it was the towns that possessed more shops: shopkeeping was a more specialised activity in the towns where retail businesses offered a greater variety of goods than in the villages. Towns were also more likely to provide accommodation for travellers, hence there was a slightly higher concentration of public houses in the towns than in the villages.

Table 29 provides information on the number of Hertfordshire villages possessing a full complement of all the essential services as well as those villages which lack one or more of the services.

Figure 9
Self-sufficient Villages, 1855

Self-sufficient villages •

For key to villages see Map 1

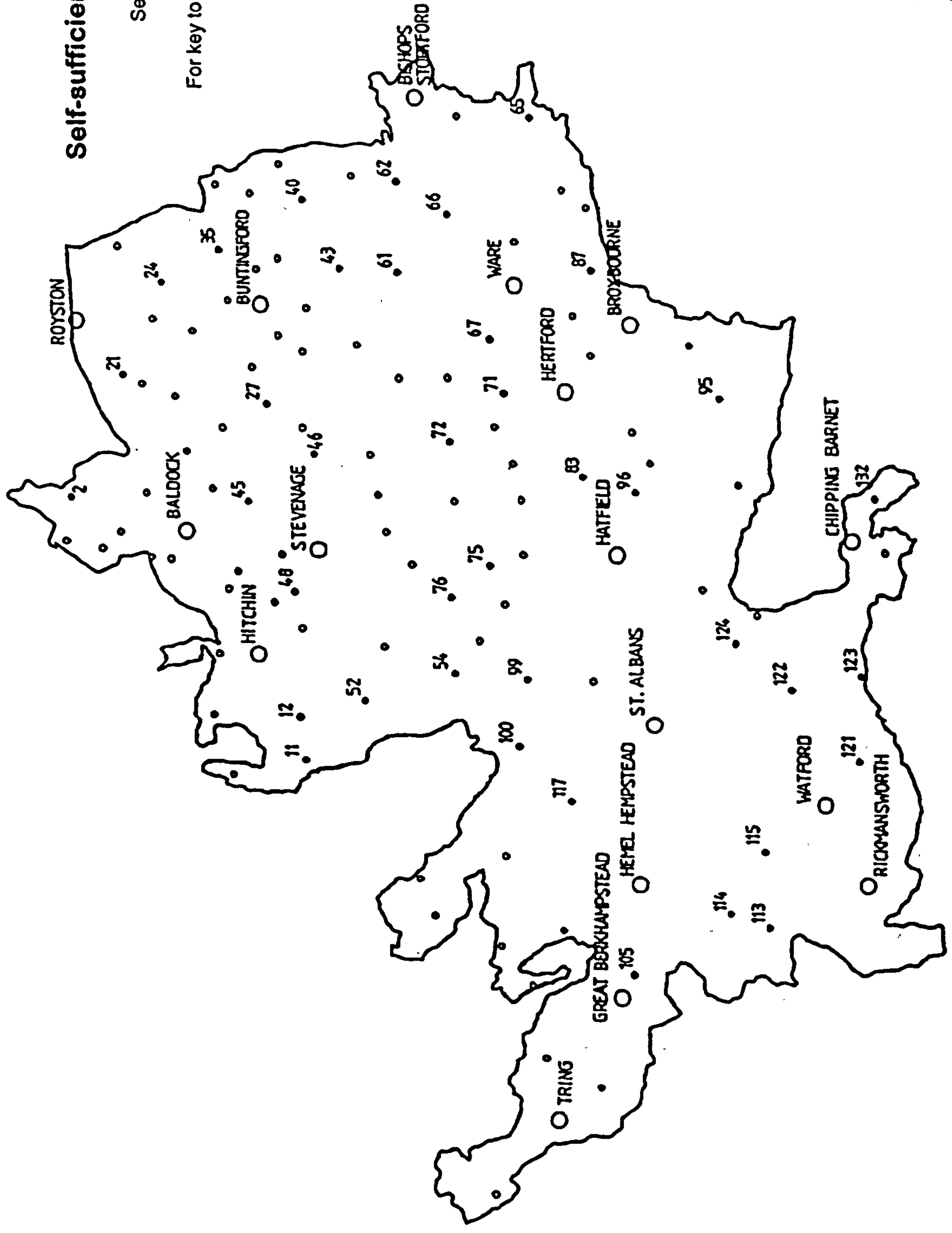


Figure 10
Self-sufficient Villages, 1878

Self-sufficient villages •

For key to villages see Map 1

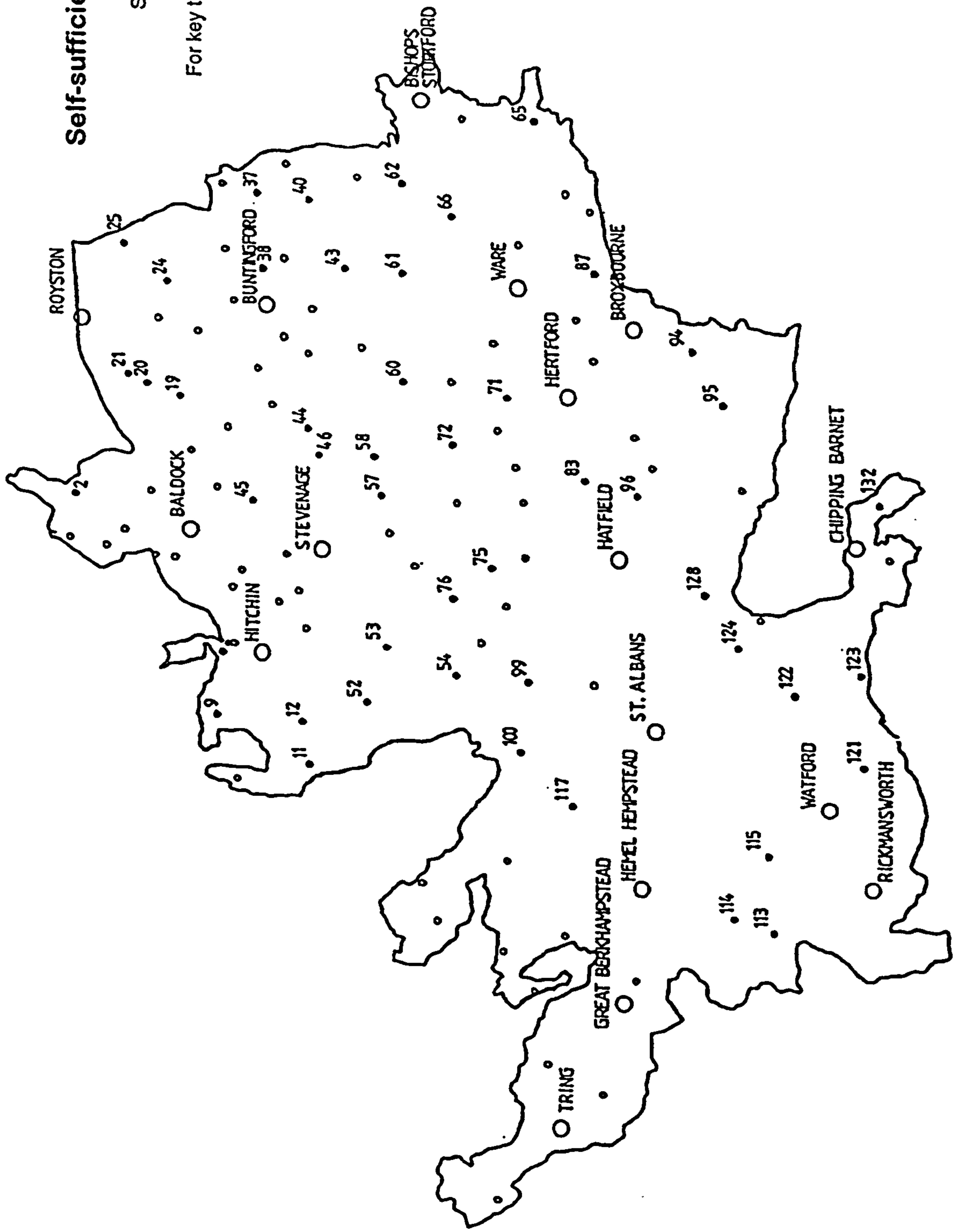


Figure 11
Self-sufficient Villages, 1902

Self-sufficient villages •

For key to villages see Map 1

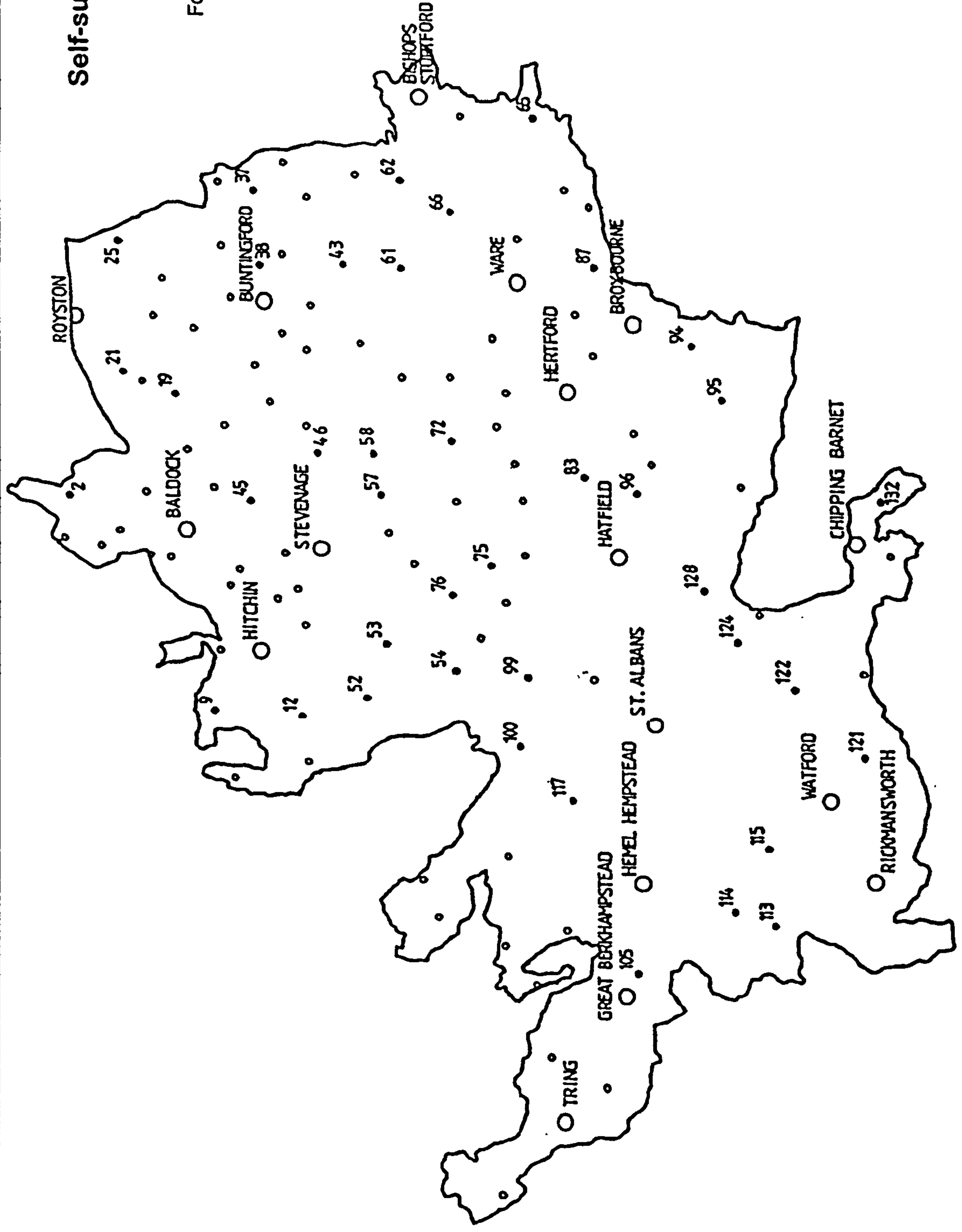


TABLE 29.--Distribution of essential services in villages.

=====						
Number of services	1855		1878		1902	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	8	8	6	6	7	7
1	9	9	5	5	9	8
2	13	12	17	16	11	10
3	18	18	13	12	21	20
4	17	16	17	16	18	17
5	36	36	46	44	37	36
<hr/>						
Total parishes	101	100	104	101	103	100
<hr/>						

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.

With the exception of 1878, the percentage of villages with all five essential services remained fairly constant at around 36 per cent. The percentage rose to 44 per cent in 1878 at a time of relative prosperity in agriculture, when there was a steady demand for rural goods and services. Figures 9 to 11, which show the spatial distribution of the parishes with all five services for the years 1855, 1878 and 1902 respectively, indicate that the gains between 1855 and 1878 occurred mainly in the agricultural parishes in the north of the county. It was this area which saw a corresponding loss of services between 1878 and 1902. The area experienced the greatest population decline in the county in the second half of the nineteenth century and evidently some parishes were unable to retain some of their essential services.

For the three years 1855, 1878 and 1902, the majority of villages that lacked one or more of the essential services tended to be located in clusters in the agricultural north of the county as well as in the west, along the Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire borders. Villages with the five services tended to occur in clusters. This appears to break with the lateral interdependence model. A possible reason is that some Hertfordshire villages had fairly large populations, in many cases, exceeding 500 persons, and the essential services were of such a 'low order', in central place terms, that the craftsmen and tradesmen were able to make a living by providing services only in their own village.

Few of the parishes studied were totally lacking in services. The proportion of around seven per cent at any specific date corresponds closely with the proportions of closed parishes in the county.²²

The Villagers' Experience

In terms of the population served, Table 30 presents self-sufficiency viewed from the experience of the individual villager. The proportion of the total rural population resident in villages with the five basic services rose from 59.3 per cent in 1855 to 70.0 per cent in 1878, sinking to 63.4 per cent in 1902, although the absolute number of villagers residing in villages with four services or less reached a maximum of 30,091 in 1855 (Table 31). Rural

²² F. M. L. Thompson, 'Landowners and the rural community,' in G. E. Mingay, Agrarian History, 472.

depopulation, therefore, affected villages which had lacked one or more basic services much earlier than in five-service villages. Saville has suggested that '... parishes with populations under 500 must be the starting-point for any detailed analysis of rural decline.'²³ The mean population size of villages with four or fewer services was 456 in 1855, compared with a mean size of 1,125 persons for five-service villages. Clearly, vilages not self-sufficient in basic services were much more likely to fall below the 500-inhabitant threshold level earlier and were more prone to the onset of rural depopulation. The smaller villages were more purely agricultural and, as a result, more susceptible to decline as the agricultural economy stagnated, thus partially confirming Mingay's observations.

TABLE 30.--Population distribution.*

	1855.....		1878.....		1902.....	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Town	80,300	48.4	105,033	52.2	140,589	56.8
Subtowns	11,453	6.9	19,032	9.5	28,771	11.6
Rural						
5-service villages	43,904	26.5	53,115	26.4	49,557	20.0
4-or-less service villages	30,091	18.2	23,884	11.9	28,630	11.6
Total	165,748	100.0	201,064	100.0	247,547	100.0

* The 1855 population is estimated to be the mean of the 1851 and 1861 census populations.
 The 1878 population is estimated to be the 1881 population.
 The 1902 population is estimated to be the 1901 population.

However, despite some rural depopulation from the mid-nineteenth century, in 1902 almost two out of three of

²³ J. Saville, Rural Depopulation in England and Wales, 1851-1951, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.

Hertfordshire villagers resided in settlements possessing at least the five basic services. If the subtowns are included with the villages, then the proportion of the population who lived in five-service settlements, outside market towns, reached a peak of 78 per cent in 1902.

TABLE 31.--Population distribution* in five-service villages.

=====		
Population in 5-service villages as percentage of total rural population:		
=====		
1855	1878	1902
59.3	70.0	63.4

Population in 5-service villages and subtowns as a percentage of total rural and subtown population:		
=====		
1855	1878	1902
62.8	72.1	78.0

NOTE:
The total population is that for which data are available.

* The 1855 population is estimated to be the mean of the 1851 and 1861 census populations.
The 1878 population is estimated to be the 1881 population.
The 1902 population is estimated to be the 1901 population.

Returning to Mingay's assertion that Victorian villages lost their self-sufficiency in the Victorian era, depending on whether subtowns are included with villages or treated as a separate group, differing conclusions may be drawn. Subtowns had managed to develop some urban characteristics by the third quarter of the nineteenth century, but in the research programme have been treated separately from the villages for the whole of the period to allow for ease of comparison. If the subtowns are counted in with the villages, then the number and proportion of villagers residing in self-sufficient villages reached a peak in 1902

(Table 30), calling into question Mingay's assertion. However, if the subtowns are excluded, then the number and proportion of the Hertfordshire population living in a village that was self-sufficient in the five basic services declined between 1878 and 1902, confirming Mingay's statement. This highlights the definitional difficulties involved in establishing the status of rural areas, particularly where these changed significantly over time.

Tables 26b to 28b (above) show that, although the village population declined relative to the populations recorded in the towns and subtowns, with the exception of grocer/draper/shopkeepers, the proportion of basic rural service outlets declined less rapidly. The proportion of grocer/draper/ shopkeeper outlets was less than the proportion of the county village population by 1902, suggesting some relative decline in these particular services as the century progressed. It may be argued, therefore, that from the viewpoint of the villager, there was a greater concentration of basic services in villages, relative to the village population, at the end of the century than in previous years. In reality, there tended to be a greater concentration of blacksmith/farriers, carpenter/wheelwrights, and public houses/hotel/innkeeper/beer retailers in the villages in 1902 than were to be found in the towns and subtowns.

Conclusions

The persistence of crafts and trades in nineteenth-century rural Hertfordshire, despite population decline, together

with the finding that proportionately fewer villagers lived in self-sufficient villages in 1902 than in 1878, suggest three possibilities.

Firstly, it is likely that craftsmen and tradesmen were relatively slow to respond to changing economic circumstances and, in consequence, they tended to be slow in moving away from areas of declining opportunities to locations with greater economic potential--an example of geographical inertia. Thus, the absolute numbers of essential rural service providers declined less rapidly than the village population. This also helps to explain why subtowns, which had a faster growing population, were themselves lacking in basic services.

A second possibility is that some service functions in villages declined relative to others; and, in consequence, a system of hierarchical dependence of smaller villages on central villages had developed by the end of the century. This topic is explored more fully in Chapter 8.

Thirdly, farm workers who had become un- or under-employed might well have been attracted into the service sector as in Dorset.²⁴ This would have brought about further over-crowding, particularly in those occupations which were relatively easy to enter. Possibly this resulted in a still more intense concentration of these services in

²⁴ B. Kerr, Bound to the soil: A social history of Dorset 1750-1918, John Baker, 1968, 133.

the villages as opposed to the towns.²⁵ This seems unlikely in Hertfordshire, particularly as blacksmith/farrier occupations already had a high concentration of outlets in rural areas, and these occupations would have been less accessible to farm workers with limited financial means because of the capital outlay involved in setting up in business and the need to serve an apprenticeship. The more accessible occupations of grocer, bootmaker and publican had a lower concentration of rural outlets.²⁶

It is likely that there were several processes at work, the net result of which was the maintenance of numbers of essential rural service providers despite a declining rural population.

Chapter 7 continues the analysis of rural service provision by considering those crafts and trades that were not considered essential to village self-sufficiency, but, nevertheless, were commonly to be found in nineteenth-century rural areas.

²⁵ Farm labourers would be expected to be attracted to crafts and trades closely allied to farming, with which they would be knowledgeable.

²⁶ Comparisons between service provision in Dorset and Hertfordshire break down at this point. A possible reason may be the differing settlement geographies involved. Significant numbers of unemployed farmworkers in Hertfordshire were attracted to London, but there was no comparable large urban settlement in the Dorset area to which farmworkers may have migrated in large numbers.

VILLAGES IN TRANSITION

Non-essential Rural Crafts and Trades

Chapter 6 focused on the essential crafts and trades of carpenter/wheelwright, blacksmith/farrier, boot and shoe maker, grocer/shopkeeper and publican/beer retailer. This chapter considers the most common rural trades and crafts, found in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire, which were not essential in the sense defined in Chapter 6, but which, nevertheless, are traditionally associated with village life.

It is generally assumed that the range of traditional rural crafts and trades declined in the Victorian era. Typical is Mingay's comment: 'The larger villages, however, saw their once large array of crafts and trades decline to a mere handful.'¹

If this occurred in Hertfordshire during the nineteenth century, one would expect two things. Firstly, the range of different services present in villages would be smaller at the end of the century than in c.1885. Secondly, we would expect the number of traditional rural service outlets to decline.

Appendix 2 lists the range of crafts and trades present in Hertfordshire villages for the study years 1855, 1878 and 1902. Table 32 is a summary of the tables in the appendix.

¹ G.E. Mingay, The Victorian Countryside, Vol. 1, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, 8.

The number of different crafts and trades represented and the total number of outlets increased from 1855 to the end of the century. The occupations recorded in the trade directories include those traditionally associated with village life such as those discussed in Chapter 6. The range of crafts and trades was widened by a number of other activities. Each village-based occupation may be classified as falling into one of five broad groups: services to agriculture, construction, transport, industry, and miscellaneous (See Table 32).

TABLE 32.--Total rural craft and trade outlets in Hertfordshire.

	1855	1878	1902
Agricultural occupations and services	244	346	321
Construction	101	128	159
Transport	25	17	69
Industry	22	29	14
Miscellaneous crafts, trades, professional	1391	1283	1314
Total outlets	1783	1803	1877
Number of different trades	78	107	135

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.

Carpenter/wheelwrights, blacksmith/farriers and saddlers have been grouped as services to agriculture using Chartres' classification,² although these could equally have been grouped under the transport heading. Services grouped under the industry heading were those that appear to have served other than purely local needs, for example, straw-

² J.A. Chartres, 'Country trades, crafts and professions' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), The agrarian history of England and Wales, Vol.6, 1750-1850, J. Thirsk (gen. ed.), Cambridge University Press, 1989, 416-66.

plaiting. All these industries were small and localised. The miscellaneous category comprised those goods and services which were in demand by all sections of the rural community, for example, 'surgeon' and 'baker'.

The number of agricultural service outlets and industry outlets reached a peak in 1878 while construction and transport peaked in 1902. The peak in agricultural services reflected trends in England and Wales as a whole. As we saw in Chapter 3, Hertfordshire's commercial agrarian economy experienced a buoyant period until the 1870s. Then agricultural depression and stagnation were experienced in England and Wales. Arable farming regions such as Hertfordshire were the most severely affected by the adverse economic conditions.

Miscellaneous services fluctuated during the three study years. This was largely explained by the decrease in the number of grocers and public houses recorded in the trade directories between 1855 and 1878 (Appendix 2).

However, the total number of different trades and the actual numbers of outlets overall increased progressively for each succeeding year under examination. Hertfordshire villages as a group, therefore, experienced an increase in the range of village-based services as the century progressed.

As described in Chapter 5, from the mid-nineteenth century onward, villages in the south of the county

experienced an influx of a non-agricultural adventitious population with different service demands to those required by the traditional villagers. For example, this accounts for the presence in 1902 of such retail trades as the jeweller and the hatter in Wheathampstead, the furniture dealer in Sarratt, and a photographer in Stanstead Abbots. These trades are more commonly associated with an urban or suburban life-style than that to be found in the villages.

Self-sufficiency in the basic services has been considered in the previous chapter. But, in addition there existed a number of additional crafts and trades which were traditionally associated with village life.³

These included the trades and crafts of: saddler/harness maker/collar maker, baker, builder/bricklayer, miller, tailor and butcher. All these occupations were present in sufficient numbers to permit further analysis. Not only did these occupations render services to agriculture, but they also supplied more general services to the entire rural community.

Strictly speaking, the saddler made only saddles for horses, the collar maker made only horse collars, whilst the harness maker made all the other gear. Although saddler, harness maker and collar maker were distinct crafts, in

³ W. Rose, Good Neighbours, Cambridge University Press, 1923, repr., 1949, 32-53. Rose describes the following crafts and trades as being an integral part of life in a large agricultural Buckinghamshire village in the late nineteenth century: builder, carpenter, painter, wheelwright, hurdle-maker, plough-maker, blacksmith, bootmaker, saddler, thatcher, brewer, tailor, lace-maker, miller, baker, and the village stores.

rural areas these skills were often combined in one craftsman, the village saddler. The saddler's craft was closely tied in to the needs of contemporary transport and communications. But the greatest demand for the services of the saddler came from the farmers and others who relied on horse power. The harnesses needed varied from the larger harness for plough horses through to the much lighter equipment for the fast-trotting pony. High quality harnesses for display purposes were also in demand. The horse population in England and Wales continued to rise throughout the century, resulting in sustained demand for the services of the saddler. This was a fairly high status craft, requiring a long apprenticeship and significant amounts of capital outlay.⁴

Although the notion that villagers baked their own bread is generally accepted, it has been asserted by Mui and Mui that this was not always the most economical option. Cottagers could not necessarily afford to light fires for baking purposes and 'if the housewife were not an expert breadmaker, the whole exercise could result in a ruinous mess of undigestible bread.'⁵ The baker was thus an integral part of village life during the nineteenth century and, indeed as he had been since earlier times. Forty-three (33 per cent) of Hertfordshire parishes possessed a baker in 1759 (Table 35).

⁴ According to J.G. Jenkins, Traditional country craftsmen, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, Revised ed. 1978, 218, it took seven years to train a skilled saddler.

⁵ Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna Mui, Shops and shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England, Routledge, 1989, 155.

Milling generally declined in England and Wales during the nineteenth century. With changing technology in milling and bulk transportation and the increasing importation of foreign grain, increasingly the mills became centred at ports and railheads rather than in rural areas. Mills had previously been situated in rural areas to take advantage of wind or water power, as well as to serve the needs of local farmers who grew their own grain. With the advent of steam roller-milling, to which foreign grain was more suited, flour mills were no longer tied to specific areas and it was economically sounder to situate them at the break of bulk points that occurred in long-distance transport systems.

Clothing was made to measure for farmers and farm workers alike by the village tailor, from leather-cloth and corduroy. Clothing for women was usually made in the home or by dressmakers. Tailors, like boot and shoe makers, faced increasing competition from mass-produced clothing by the end of the century.

There was considerable overlap between the occupations of builder and bricklayer. Therefore, in the research programme, these two trades have been considered as a single group. Builders and bricklayers evidently moved to where work was available, much as they do today.

Although Walter Rose did not include butchers within his list of traditional village crafts and trades, butchers

TABLE 33.--Employment in common rural crafts and trades,
England and Wales, 1851-1901
(000).

Occupation	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Grocer/draper/ shopkeeper	161.2	165.8	225.4	267.0	342.5	390.4
Inn/hotel/ beer seller	75.7	82.0	93.4	86.7	95.6	99.9
Wheelwright/ carpenter/ joiner	184.6	208.0	236.1	264.0	249.0	299.6
Blacksmith/ farrier	100.9	115.0	119.1	120.0	143.2	140.0
Clog/boot/shoe/ patten maker	243.9	255.6	224.6	224.1	248.8	251.1
Saddlers, whip and harness makers	16.8	19.4	23.0	28.9	27.3	30.7
Bakers and confectioners	76.4	68.7	76.1	96.6	130.8	171.1
Miller	32.5	31.1	30.1	28.0	26.6	23.6
Tailor and milliner	132.7	136.4	149.9	160.7	208.7	237.2
Builder and bricklayer	79.5	95.2	123.3	155.8	168.3	156.4
Butcher	62.2	68.1	75.9	81.7	98.9	109.0
Total	1166.5	1245.3	1376.7	1513.4	1739.7	1909.1
Occupied population	8602.9	9668.1	10315.7	11187.6	12899.5	14328.7
% of occupied population	13.6	12.9	13.3	13.5	13.5	13.3

Source: Census Reports as for Table 1.

were commonly found in villages as late as the 1930s.⁶ Chartres found that the retail butchery business was probably well-established in villages by the early nineteenth century but that this had reached a peak before 1880. Fifty-five per cent of Hertfordshire parishes recorded a resident butcher in 1759, thus supporting Chartres' assertion that the trade was present in villages

⁶ R. Barrett, Peasants and parsons, London: Robert Hale, 1991, 82.

in significant numbers prior to the mid-nineteenth century (Table 35). Chartres attributes the decline in small butchery businesses to better communications, a growth in the dead meat trade-- refrigerated meat was imported from the Americas and Australia by the end of the century--and improved public health regulation of the butchery trade.⁷

Employment in Common Rural Crafts and Trades

The total numbers employed in the common rural crafts and trades in England and Wales increased each decade in 1851-1901 (Table 33). However, there is greater variation when individual occupational groups are considered. Saddlers, whip-makers and harness makers increased each decade from 1851 to 1881, decreased in 1891 then reached a peak in 1901. The number of bakers and confectioners more than doubled during the period 1851-1901. In contrast, the number of millers declined in the same period. Tailors increased steadily while the number of builders and bricklayers almost doubled between 1851 and 1901. The numbers employed in the meat trade increased between 1851 and 1901, apart from a slight decrease in the decade 1851-1861. As a percentage of the total occupied population, the numbers employed in these common rural occupations remained fairly steady at around 13 per cent.

At the county level, there was a slight decrease in the total numbers employed in the common rural occupations in the decade 1871-1881, reflecting a corresponding decrease in

⁷ J.A. Chartres and G.L. Turnbull, 'Country Tradesmen' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), The Victorian Countryside, 1981, Vol. 1, 303.

the total occupied population in the county (Table 34). Presumably, this was because of declining market demand linked to rural population decline (See Table 21). The proportion of the Hertfordshire population engaged in the crafts and trades investigated increased as a proportion of the total occupied population from the year 1871 and, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was higher than the corresponding proportion for England and Wales.

TABLE 34.--Employment in common rural crafts and trades,
Hertfordshire, 1851-1901.

Occupation	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Grocer/draper/ shopkeeper	1359	1467	1907	1961	2417	2542
Inn/hotel/ beer seller	1143	1209	1174	1097	1101	1924
Wheelwright/ carpenter/ joiner	2167	2088	2263	2267	2317	3411
Blacksmith/ farrier	782	908	944	906	1018	943
Clog/boot/shoe/ patten maker	1503	1586	1335	1261	1124	1066
Saddlers, whip and harness makers	198	195	199	219	228	242
Bakers and confectioners	823	812	856	979	1172	1300
Miller	508	589	502	382	343	322
Tailor and milliner	728	717	739	650	705	887
Builder and bricklayer	1327	1634	1897	1996	2311	2241
Butcher	610	556	642	628	762	913
Total	11148	11761	12458	12346	13498	15791
Occupied population	85067	88739	96980	86046	90885	102790
% of Occupied population	13.1	13.3	12.8	14.3	14.9	15.4

Source: Census Reports as for Table 4.

A possible explanation is that there were no sizeable industries in the county as, for example, existed in the industrial centres of northern England. Individuals employed in industries not related to agriculture would have been less likely to require the services traditionally associated with agriculture such as those of the blacksmith, wheelwright or saddler. Although such skills were required by nineteenth-century heavy industries, these may have been associated with other occupations such as ironfounder or engineer, especially towards the end of the century. Also, industrialising centres tended to be amongst those areas that experienced faster-than-average population increases and probably, as we shall see in the case of Hertfordshire subtowns and villages with increasing populations, service provision increased more slowly than the population, with the result that proportions employed in the traditional rural occupations decreased relative to the population.

Again, at the county level, there was more variation when the individual occupational groups are considered. Saddlers decreased slightly in number in the decade 1851-61, then increased steadily to 1901. The numbers of bakers increased in Hertfordshire in 1851-1901, but at a lesser rate than in England and Wales as a whole. For millers, the trend was similar in Hertfordshire to that for England and Wales. Hertfordshire tailors fluctuated in numbers in the period 1851-1901. The numbers of builders increased steadily in the period 1851-1891, followed by a slight decrease in 1901, reflecting trends in England and Wales as

a whole. Hertfordshire butchers decreased in 1851-1861 and 1871-1881 but the general trend was to increase, as for England and Wales.

TABLE 35.--Distribution of common rural crafts and trades, all settlements.

	1759	1855	1878	1902
	N %	N %	N %	N %
Blacksmith/farrier	96 73	90 74	97 78	93 75
Carpenter/wheelwright	102 77	82 67	84 67	75 61
Boot and shoe maker	80 61	66 54	72 58	66 53
Grocer/shopkeeper	- -	97 80	108 86	102 82
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	- -	106 87	115 92	114 92
Baker	43 33	65 53	71 57	68 55
Saddler	- -	38 31	42 34	45 36
Miller	58 44	60 49	62 50	47 38
Tailor	79 60	51 42	54 43	43 35
Builder	- -	42 34	49 39	65 52
Butcher	72 55	65 53	68 54	59 48
Total settlements	132	122	125	125

Source: P.D. Glennie, 'A commercialising agrarian region, late medieval and early modern Hertfordshire,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1983, Table 8.7, 167.
Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.

NOTE:
The figures for 1759 refer to parishes while those for the other years refer to both urban and rural settlements.

Table 35 shows that more settlements possessed a baker in the nineteenth century than in 1759. The percentage was 55 in 1902, a slight decrease from 57 per cent in 1878. Bakers were present in three out of the four subtowns: only Great Amwell was lacking. There was a peak in 1878 in the absolute and proportionate numbers in all settlements and of villages possessing a butcher (Table 36). The distribution of butchers in 1759 was similar to that in 1878, for all settlements.

In contrast to the essential services (carpenter/wheelwright, blacksmith/farrier, boot and shoe maker, grocer/shopkeeper, and publican/beer retailer), apart from bootmakers, which were present in the majority of villages, the occupations of baker, saddler, miller, tailor, builder and butcher were present only in a minority of villages for each of the three study years (Table 36).

Builders and saddlers occur in an increasing number and proportion of villages between 1855 and 1902. The number and proportion of villages recording a baker reached a peak in 1878, followed by a slight decrease in 1902. Tailors and butchers showed a similar trend, but tailors recorded a more marked decline between 1878 and 1902.

TABLE 36.--Distribution of common rural crafts and trades, villages.

	1855		1878		1902	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blacksmith/farrier	69	70	77	74	73	71
Carpenter/wheelwright	62	52	64	62	55	53
Boot and shoe maker	46	47	52	50	45	44
Grocer/shopkeeper	76	76	87	84	81	79
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	85	85	94	90	93	90
Baker	45	45	51	49	48	47
Saddler	19	19	23	22	25	24
Miller	42	42	43	41	30	29
Tailor	31	31	34	33	23	22
Builder	23	23	28	27	44	43
Butcher	45	45	48	46	38	37
Total villages	101	100	104	100	103	100

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.

Tables 37 to 39 indicate that the common rural crafts and trades were well-represented in the market towns but

that they were under-represented in the subtowns and villages for each of the years under examination. There was a greater lack of these service provisions in the subtowns than in the villages, as indicated by the proportion of outlets overall compared with the proportion of the county population resident in these settlements.

The number of rural saddlers increased slowly in the period, reaching a peak in 1902. However, the proportion of saddlers was slightly greater than the proportion of the county population resident in the villages. There was a slight concentration of saddlers in the market towns relative to the population. Saddlers were under-represented in the subtowns. Two out of the four subtowns, East Barnet and Great Amwell, lacked a saddler in 1855 and 1878. East Barnet had acquired a saddler by 1902.

Rural saddlers were on the increase in the period and, despite a slight decrease in proportions in 1902, were slightly over-represented in the villages relative to population. However, villagers were more likely to require the services of a saddler than town dwellers and on this basis, there may well have been insufficient rural saddlers to fulfil local demands. It is highly probable that town-based saddlers served some nearby villages. During the 1930s it was common for saddlers to travel to villages to ply their trade and it was quite possible that this was so during the nineteenth century.⁸ Thus, all the evidence

⁸ Barrett, Peasants and parsons, 96-7.

suggests that rural areas were unlikely to have been fully self-sufficient in saddlers in the nineteenth century.

The number of rural baker outlets increased throughout the century. This suggests that some villages gained additional bakers while three villages ceased to have a resident baker between 1878 and 1902 (Table 36). Rural bakers increased relative to the rural population between 1855 and 1902, with a slight concentration of outlets in the market towns but with a slight reduction in subtowns for the years 1878 and 1902. The majority of villages possessing a baker in mid-century retained this provision to the end of the century and, in each observation year, the proportion of rural outlets increased relative to the village population.

TABLE 37a.--Number of outlets, 1855.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages	Total
Blacksmith/farrier	83	11	110	204
Carpenter/wheelwright	95	18	139	252
Boot and shoe maker	166	16	92	274
Grocer/shopkeeper	430	43	242	715
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	410	29	273	712
Baker	156	18	74	248
Saddler	55	5	23	83
Miller	37	2	53	92
Tailor	133	13	51	197
Builder	99	10	64	173
Butcher	147	16	69	232
Total	1811	181	1190	3182

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855.

TABLE 37b.--Percentage of outlets, 1855.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages
Population present	48.4	6.9	44.5
Blacksmith/farrier	40.7	5.4	53.9
Carpenter/wheelwright	37.6	7.1	55.2
Boot and shoe maker	60.6	5.8	33.6
Grocer/shopkeeper	60.1	6.0	33.8
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	57.5	4.1	38.3
Baker	62.9	7.3	29.8
Saddler	66.3	6.0	27.7
Miller	40.2	2.2	57.6
Tailor	67.5	6.6	25.9
Builder	57.2	5.8	37.0
Butcher	63.4	6.9	29.7
Total	56.9	5.7	37.4

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855;
Victoria County History of Hertfordshire,
(1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol. 4,
 235-238.

NOTE:

The 1855 population is estimated to be the mean of the 1851 and 1861 census populations.

The number of settlements possessing a mill decreased markedly between 1878 and 1902, but 50 per cent of Hertfordshire's mills were still at rural locations in 1902 (Table 39). Only one subtown, Cheshunt, possessed a mill in 1855. Bushey had acquired a mill by 1878. There were no mills in any of the subtowns by 1902.

Flour mills were over-represented in Hertfordshire villages compared with the towns throughout the period, although the number of millers was actually on the decrease. This suggests either that Hertfordshire milling enterprises were increasing in size, or Hertfordshire millers were not fulfilling all the demand for flour in the county. The numbers employed in milling decreased from 1861 onward

(Table 34), mainly, it is suspected, because productivity improved with new technology.

It is by no means clear to what extent villages were self-sufficient in milling during the period. Flour was transportable over considerable distances and could be purchased by villagers in the market towns, and was an important commodity stocked in the village shop.

The number of rural tailors declined absolutely and relative to the village population between 1878 and 1902. Tailors became more concentrated in the towns during this period. Three out of four subtowns possessed a tailor: Great Amwell was again the exception. This trade was manifestly declining in the villages, leading to the loss of self-sufficiency in tailors, during the second half of the nineteenth century. By 1902 less than one-quarter of villages (22 per cent) possessed a tailor.

TABLE 38a.--Number of outlets, 1878.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages	Total
Blacksmith/farrier	90	12	126	228
Carpenter/wheelwright	121	19	136	276
Boot and shoe maker	228	35	108	371
Grocer/shopkeeper	544	102	344	990
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	520	44	321	885
Baker	184	27	107	318
Saddler	51	5	28	84
Miller	45	2	49	96
Tailor	144	17	59	220
Builder	121	27	78	226
Butcher	137	24	76	237
Total	2185	314	1432	3931

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1878.

TABLE 38b.--Percentage of outlets, 1878.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages
Population present (1881)	52.2	9.5	38.3
Blacksmith/farrier	39.5	5.3	55.3
Carpenter/wheelwright	43.8	6.9	49.3
Boot and shoe maker	61.5	9.4	29.1
Grocer/shopkeeper	54.9	10.3	34.7
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	58.8	5.0	36.3
Baker	57.9	8.5	33.6
Saddler	60.7	6.0	33.3
Miller	46.9	2.1	51.0
Tailor	65.5	7.7	26.8
Builder	53.5	11.9	34.5
Butcher	57.8	10.1	32.1
Total	55.6	8.0	36.4

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1878;
Victoria County History of Hertfordshire,
(1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol. 4,
 235-238.

TABLE 39a.--Number of outlets, 1902.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages	Total
Blacksmith/farrier	83	20	105	208
Carpenter/wheelwright	80	11	96	187
Boot and shoe maker	239	34	89	362
Grocer/shopkeeper	757	146	328	1231
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	575	52	329	956
Baker	205	33	108	346
Saddler	55	6	29	90
Miller	34	-	34	68
Tailor	158	12	38	208
Builder	180	39	88	307
Butcher	195	30	77	302
Total	2561	383	1321	4265

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1902.

Two out of four subtowns, Cheshunt and Bushey, possessed builders in 1855. All four subtowns had acquired a builder by 1878. Rural builders and bricklayers were under-represented relative to the population compared with the market towns and subtowns for each of the three study

years. This result is predictable because the population was increasing in the towns and subtowns during the period, but declining in the villages.

TABLE 39b.--Percentage of outlets, 1902.

	Market Towns	Subtowns	Villages
Population present (1901)	56.7	11.6	31.7
Blacksmith/farrier	39.9	9.6	50.5
Carpenter/wheelwright	42.8	5.9	51.3
Boot and shoe maker	66.0	9.4	24.6
Grocer/shopkeeper	61.5	11.9	26.6
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	60.1	5.4	34.4
Baker	59.2	9.5	31.2
Saddler	61.1	6.7	32.2
Miller	50.0	0.0	50.0
Tailor	76.0	5.8	18.3
Builder	58.6	12.7	28.9
Butcher	64.6	9.9	25.5
Total	60.0	9.0	31.0

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1902;
Victoria County History of Hertfordshire,
(1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol. 4,
 235-238.

Builders and bricklayers appeared to respond quickly to work opportunities and were easily attracted to areas of increasing population where there would be demand for new housing and amenities, as, for example, in the subtowns. Indeed, the proportion of rural builders increased relative to the village population in each of the villages under investigation. Thus, the villages maintained the level of service for this provision throughout the period.

The distribution of butchers in Hertfordshire settlements showed a marked concentration along the major transport routes, where the majority of settlements had a

Figure 12
Villages with a Butcher

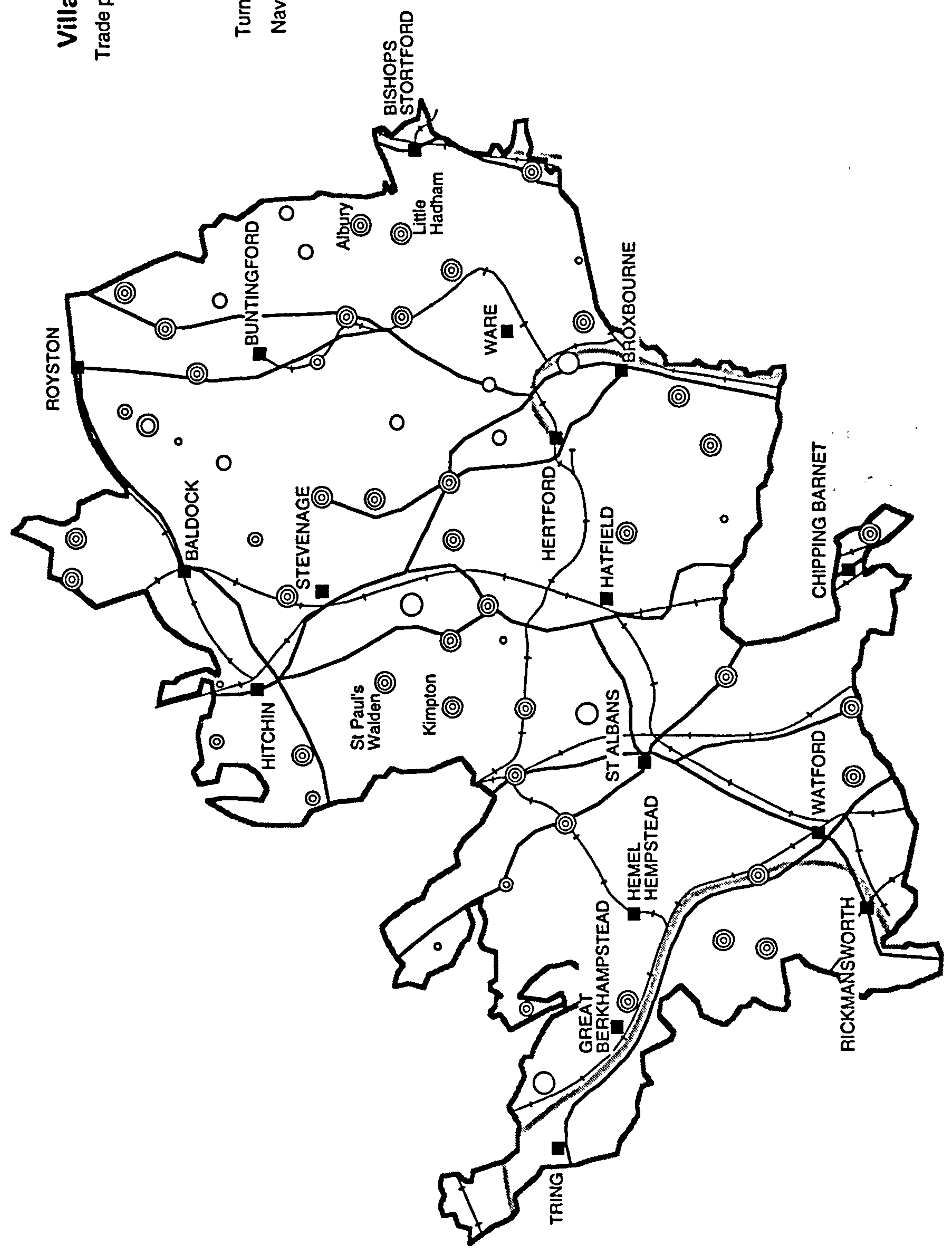
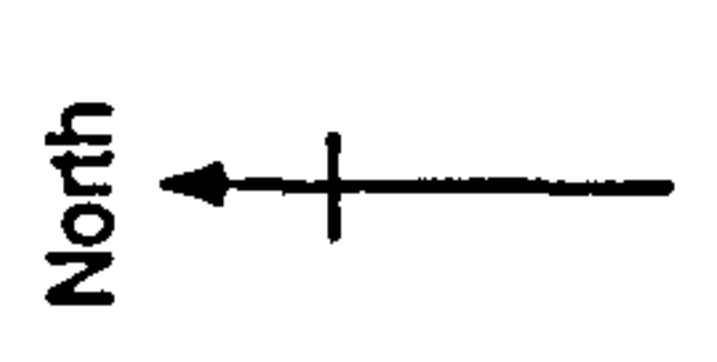
Trade present for years

1855 1878 1902

Turnpike road c1800

Navigable waterway

Railway



butcher throughout the period. Kimpton, St. Paul's Walden, Little Hadham, and Albury, being remote parishes, were exceptions and recorded a butcher for each of the study years (Figure 12). Butchers tended to be slightly under-represented in the villages for each of the three years; well-represented in the market towns; well-represented in the subtowns for 1855 and 1878, but slightly under-represented in 1902. Great Amwell was the only subtown which lacked a butcher, again emphasising this settlement's deficiency in rural services generally.

Threshold populations and business sizes

The concept of threshold population has been used to study the relative importance of individual crafts and trades. As was discussed in Chapter 2, a low threshold population for a rural service provision indicates that the service is important to the village community in general: a high threshold population indicates that the service is to be found only in the larger villages. For each craft and trade the ranked threshold populations were calculated and compared with those for the basic services discussed in Chapter 6 (Table 40).

The rank positions of all except the most common four services, carpenter/wheelwright, blacksmith, grocer, and public house, were different for each study year. Bakers had become more widely distributed in rural areas than bootmakers by 1878, ousting bootmakers from seventh position in the ranking. Butchers, millers and tailors became less common while builders and saddlers became more widely

diffused. The rank positions of the various crafts and trades confirm the figures in Tables 36 to 39 and also reinforce the definition of self-sufficiency discussed in Chapter 6. The essential services of carpenter/wheelwright, blacksmith/farrier, grocer, public house and bootmaker were to be found at the lower end of the hierarchy in 1855. Only bootmakers changed their relative positions.

TABLE 40.--Threshold populations for common rural crafts and trades.

	1855.....		1878.....		1902.....	
	Popn	Rank	Popn	Rank	Popn	Rank
Saddler	1011	1	1107	1	988	2
Builder	944	2	916	2	816	5
Baker	801	4	677	7	790	7
Miller	779	5	787	4	882	3
Tailor	887	3	879	3	1307	1
Butcher	774	6	768	5	863	4
Bootmaker	765	7	740	6	810	6
Carpenter/wheelwright	678	8	673	8	743	8
Blacksmith	651	9	574	9	644	9
Grocer etc.	578	10	514	10	551	10
Public house etc.	526	11	452	11	450	11

Chartres and Turnbull have calculated threshold populations for common rural crafts and trades for Norfolk and the North Riding of Yorkshire (Table 41). Their threshold populations were actually much lower in terms of minimal populations than those for Hertfordshire although the rank positions are very similar. There were no large towns in Hertfordshire, and very few closed villages, and in consequence, villages tended to be fairly large with a well-developed rural economy, as predicted by central place theory, and in line with the discussion in Chapter 2. In contrast, Norfolk and Yorkshire had a more developed urban hierarchy than Hertfordshire, possessing regional capitals

and other large towns. In consequence, villages in these two counties tended to be smaller in terms of population size than villages in Hertfordshire.

TABLE 41.--Population thresholds at which craftsmen and tradesmen appeared in Norfolk and the North Riding of Yorkshire.

	Norfolk 1836	North Riding of Yorkshire 1879
Saddler	550	530
Wheelwright	500	350
Grocer	498	489
Blacksmith	475	340
Shopkeeper	463	309
Publican	377	296
Butcher	-	372

Source: J.A. Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), The Victorian Countryside, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, Vol.1, 301, and J.A. Chartres and G.L. Turnbull, 'Country Craftsmen' in Victorian Countryside, 316.

The similarity of the ranked thresholds for the common rural trades and crafts suggests that the relative importance of these services to the rural community seems to be fairly stable during the nineteenth century. Moreover these findings suggest that these features were independent of specific locality and type of farming.

Table 42 shows the estimated mean business size for each of the common rural crafts and trades in rural and urban settlements in the county. There are two explanations for the inflated figures for carpenter/wheelwright. Firstly, carpenter/wheelwright outlets may have been under-represented in the directories probably because estate carpenters and rough carpenters would not have been recorded in the directories although they do appear amongst the

TABLE 42.--Estimated mean business size of common rural crafts and trades
(Numbers employed divided by number of outlets)

	1855	1878	1902
Saddler	2.4	2.6	2.7
Builder	8.6	8.8	7.3
Baker	3.3	3.1	3.8
Miller	6.0	4.0	4.7
Tailor	3.7	3.0	4.3
Bootmaker	5.6	3.4	2.9
Carpenter/wheelwright	8.4	8.2	18.2
Blacksmith	4.1	4.0	4.5
Grocer	2.0	2.0	2.1
Public House	1.7	1.2	2.0
Butcher	2.5	2.7	3.0

NOTE:

The numbers employed in 1855 are estimated by taking the mean of the 1851 and 1861 census data.

The numbers employed in 1881 are used to estimate the mean business size in 1878.

The numbers employed in 1901 are used to estimate the mean business size in 1902.

Source: 1851, 1861, 1881 and 1901 Census

Reports as for Table 4.

Kelly's Directory, 1855,

Kelly's Directory, 1878,

Kelly's Directory, 1902.

occupations recorded in the census returns. Secondly, joiners were included with carpenters in the census figures. With the exception of carpenters and bootmakers the estimated business sizes remained fairly steady over time (Table 42).⁹ This suggests that these businesses continued

⁹ The inflated figure for carpenters in 1902 is a consequence of the large increase of carpenters recorded in the census for 1901. This increase occurred in Hertfordshire and in England and Wales as a whole (Tables 33 and 34). There was no proportionate increase in the numbers of carpenter outlets recorded in the directories. The census returns do not give any explanation for the large increase. However, one explanation is that entry to the occupation was comparatively easy and the increase may have been among relatively unskilled members of the occupation who may have worked as casual labourers allied to the building trade, as is sometimes the case today.

to be economically viable and that numbers of journeymen and apprentices were maintained.

Business sizes were generally smaller in terms of mean numbers employed amongst the basic services of grocer and public house keepers and for bakers and saddlers. The mean numbers employed in bootmaker and miller businesses decreased between 1855 and 1902. This was to be expected because these trades were declining in the county and, as fewer apprentices and journeymen would be engaged in a depressed industry, one would expect the numbers employed to decrease. In contrast, tailors decreased only in the villages. Town-based tailors may have been larger enterprises employing more apprentices and journeymen, or may have been just retail shops, employing just shop assistants and buying in completed clothing from wholesalers and/or factories. This could explain the increase in business size amongst tailors between 1878 and 1902.

Rural Service Provision in Villages with Increasing Populations

Traditional village crafts and trades were still very much in evidence at the end of the nineteenth century. But, in addition, there was a significant range of crafts and trades present in Hertfordshire villages that were more to be associated with an urban lifestyle. Analysis of the rural economy at the level of the county suggests that the character of some villages was changing from being predominantly agricultural to acquiring suburban characteristics. Changing technology and resulting

increased competition was probably the reason for the decline of rural millers, tailors and bootmakers. However, the basic traditional crafts and trades were generally required, and continued to exist, in Hertfordshire villages throughout the nineteenth century.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, Pahl has suggested that those Hertfordshire villages that experienced the greatest influx of an adventitious population were predominantly in the south and west of the county, with easy access to a railway station: 'The frontier of change was moving up the railway lines, especially in the west of the county where the rail services were fastest.'¹⁰ To compare the service provision of villages in the south and west of the county with easy access to a railway with the distribution of services in villages in the county as a whole, eight villages have been selected for detailed analysis. These were: Stanstead Abbots, Wormley, Elstree, Kings Langley, Abbots Langley, Aldbury, Redbourn, and North Mimms. Five of these villages are in the south-west, one in the south and two in the south-east of the county (Figure 1). The distribution of the common rural crafts and trades is shown in Table 43. The total population in these villages increased over the period 1851-1901, although the proportion as a percentage of the county population decreased slightly over the same period.

¹⁰ R.E. Pahl, Urbs in Rure, London School of Economics and Political Science No. 2, 1970, 20.

TABLE 43a.--Number of outlets in eight selected villages.

	1855	1878	1902
Blacksmith/farrier	17	18	14
Carpenter/wheelwright	20	15	12
Boot and shoe maker	13	17	13
Grocer/shopkeeper	43	54	60
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	77	79	88
Baker	14	19	19
Saddler	5	6	6
Miller	7	5	6
Tailor	11	9	6
Builder	13	12	18
Butcher	15	14	19
Total	235	248	261

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.

TABLE 43b.--Percentage of outlets in eight selected villages.

	1855	1878	1902
Population present*	5.9	5.7	5.3
Blacksmith/farrier	8.3	7.9	6.7
Carpenter/wheelwright	7.9	5.4	6.4
Boot and shoe maker	4.7	4.6	3.6
Grocer/shopkeeper	6.0	5.5	4.9
Pub/hotel/inn etc.	10.8	8.9	9.2
Baker	5.6	6.0	5.5
Saddler	6.0	7.1	6.7
Miller	7.6	5.2	8.8
Tailor	5.6	4.1	2.9
Builder	7.5	5.3	5.9
Butcher	6.5	5.9	6.3

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.
Victoria County History of Hertfordshire,
(1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol. 4,
235-238.

* The 1855 population is estimated to be the mean of the 1851 and 1861 census populations.

The 1878 population is estimated to be the 1881 population.

The 1902 population is estimated to be the 1901 population.

The common rural crafts and trades are well-represented in the villages compared with Hertfordshire villages as a whole and better than in the sub-towns. However, in total the proportion of the common rural craft and trade outlets did not keep pace with the population increase. From 1851 to 1901 the population increase in these selected villages was 36 per cent, while the increase in the number of outlets in the period 1855-1902 was only 11 per cent. This suggests that traditional rural service provision was in relative decline in these villages in the second half of the nineteenth century. Bootmakers, grocers and tailors were under-represented for most of the study years.

Conclusions

This analysis suggests that, for Hertfordshire villages as a whole, the numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen were maintained throughout the nineteenth century despite variations within individual occupational groups. However, there were some slight changes in the type of service provided. For example, rural bakers became more widespread than rural bootmakers, millers and butchers during the century. Thus, some craft occupations were being supplanted by retail occupations in the rural community. With regard to shops, although the numbers of rural grocers decreased between 1878 and 1902, grocers ranked second lowest in the threshold population hierarchy and maintained their position for each of the three years, indicating that they continued to be an integral part of village life.

The results suggest that household independence was declining during the century, although village self-

sufficiency was maintained. The indications are that Hertfordshire villages were in the second phase of self-sufficiency, that is, loss of household independence, greater specialisation by the village craftsmen and the appearance of various shops (See Chapter 6). That is, numbers of traditional craftsmen and tradesmen such as blacksmiths and wheelwrights were by and large maintained, but shops were becoming more prevalent.

As the subtowns increased in population, so, with the exception of grocers and builders, their service provision declined. Therefore, self-sufficiency was being eroded in the subtowns: that is, the subtowns appear to have been in phase three, experiencing decline in both craftsmen and tradesmen relative to the population as defined in Chapter 6.

This is in marked contrast to the eight villages with increasing populations analysed above. Although population increased, it did so more slowly than the county average. Levels of service provision were well-represented apart from bootmakers, grocers and tailors. Taking into account some fluctuation among the individual occupational groups, the service provision in these villages appeared to conform to the second phase of self-sufficiency; both craftsmen and tradesmen were well-represented.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, some villages in Hertfordshire experienced rural depopulation and remained agricultural throughout the period. Rural service provision

in a selected group of these villages is discussed in Chapter 8, with the result that the relationship between self-sufficiency and prosperity just put forward is seen to be open to challenge.

RURAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN TWO GROUPS OF PARISHES

Settlement Patterns, Functions, and their Origins

This chapter examines in more detail the crafts and trades discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The analysis is confined to those Hertfordshire settlements which, by and large, retained their rural character throughout the nineteenth century.

The northern and eastern portions of Hertfordshire remained predominantly agricultural throughout the nineteenth century. The north-east quarter of the county, in particular, has a long history of settlement. Even by 1086, this was the most densely settled part of the county with the greatest area of land under cultivation.¹ And, in economic terms, this was the dominant area until the fourteenth century.²

The geology here is predominantly upper chalk endowed with superficial deposits of boulder clay with some glacial and valley gravels. The soil is predominantly gley, clay loam over brown or olive brown clay, or stony loam over a subsoil of clay loam or clay; 'strong arable land' which supports a wide range of arable crops including sugar beet, potatoes and beans.³ These types of soils were the easiest

¹ L.M. Munby, The Hertfordshire Landscape, The Making of the English Landscape Series, Hodder and Stoughton, 1977, 37.

² Ibid., 118.

³ A.J. Thomasson and B.W. Avery, Agricultural Research Council Soil Survey, Special Survey No. 3, The Soils of Hertfordshire, Harpenden, 1970, 11.

to cultivate using primitive agricultural methods and this appears to have been a major factor in the siting of settlements.

Parishes in the north of the county were settled later than the north-east. This area has a more varied geology. The major rock type is chalk, together with superficial deposits of boulder clay, clay-with-flints and glacial and valley gravels. The soil associations are gley, weak loam, stony loam or clay loam. The soils on clay-with-flints support cereal farming only if present-day agricultural techniques are used, including extensive applications of chalk. These methods were known in the nineteenth century and became widespread after the 1850s. All the other soil types support arable farming.⁴ In these particular districts, the heavier soils required more advanced agricultural technology than those in the north-east and this may be the reason why this area was settled much later.

The English settled initially in the north of the county, often occupying former Roman sites such as Baldock, Braughing and Welwyn. There was much continuity of settlement on the same initial site in the area, although some settlements often were moved a short distance away from the original settlement location. Stevenage is an example. Originally, this was located around St. Nicholas' church, but was moved to the vicinity of the Great North Road, probably during the Saxon period.

⁴ Ibid., 9.

During the medieval period and earlier, there evolved a variety of settlement patterns. Dispersed or hamleted settlements were common in west and central Hertfordshire, along with substantial nucleated villages. Rural expansion resulted in the development of scattered hamlets and farms in the eastern and western districts of the county.

Walkern is an example of a pre-Conquest nucleated street village. This was once the centre of a Hertfordshire barony and, in the twelfth century, possessed a castle. It is possible that Therfield originated as a green village, a settlement formed round an open or enclosed area or ring fence.⁵ Therfield also had a medieval castle, as did Anstey, Barkway and Great Wymondley. At these sites castles were associated with rectangular village enclosures.

Although Anstey is now a nucleated village, it was originally made up of scattered settlements. This also appears to have been the case at Layston whose only nucleus is the town of Buntingford. Codicote, too, appears to have developed as scattered settlements but later clustered around its church, then moved to the main road. The east of the parish of Codicote still contains scattered hamlets.⁶ There are also many hamlets in the neighbourhood of Datchworth.

Some hamlets developed into nucleated settlements. For example, the hamlet of Whitwell developed at the expense of

⁵ Munby, The Hertfordshire Landscape, 87, 116.

⁶ Ibid., 108-109.

its mother settlement, St. Paul's Walden. Puckeridge is a village that grew out of Braughing and Standon, developing from a Roman villa at Milkley in Standon.

The area around Knebworth, Shephall, and Stevenage was a mixture of small irregular shaped fields. Originally, it seems, these enclosed furlongs intermingled with surviving open field strips.⁷

The medieval period saw the development of market towns in the north and east. Royston was created as a town by local landlords after the Norman Conquest; market rights were granted in 1189. The town developed in Barkway parish, straddling the Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire borders, and did not become a separate parish until 1540. Baldock was founded by the Knights Templar in the twelfth century. In 1189 Richard I confirmed the earlier grant of a market. By the nineteenth century, Baldock and Royston had declined in importance as market towns but they retained their weekly livestock markets. Baldock also had a corn exchange. The market at Baldock was eventually discontinued in 1884.⁸

Buntingford developed in the parishes of Layston, Throcking, Aspenden and Wyddial. Between 1288 and 1333, the

⁷ Ibid., 190.

⁸ J.S. Rider, Baldock: Some of its knights and days, Baldock, 1977, 8.

settlement continued to expand.⁹ Market rights were transferred to Buntingford from Chipping, in Buckland parish, c.1360 by Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of the manor of Chipping. By the nineteenth century, Buntingford had become insignificant as a market town, but still operated a livestock market.

Stevenage was an area of scattered settlement and was granted a market and fair in 1281. A weekly straw-plait market was held there at the beginning of the nineteenth century but this was discontinued before the end of the century. In contrast, Ware was a village at the time of the Norman Conquest but it acquired a weekly market in 1199 and an annual fair in 1254. Important corn and malt markets were held in the town which remained the centre of the malt industry until the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰

Similarly, Hitchin possessed a market from the twelfth century and was granted a fair in 1221 and borough status in 1268.¹¹ By the nineteenth century it had become the most important market centre in the north and east of the county, possessing a corn exchange, a livestock market dealing mainly in cattle and sheep, and a substantial straw-plait

⁹ A probable reason why Buntingford thrived while the market at Chipping failed is that there was a lack of landlord control. This may have occurred because no single parish was responsible for its development. M. Bailey, unpublished research using Manor Court Rolls.

¹⁰ J. Brown, The English Market Town: A social and economic history, 1750-1914, Crowood Press, 1986, 78.

¹¹ Munby, The Hertfordshire Landscape, 105.

market in addition to the general purpose weekly retail market.¹²

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the north and east of the county experienced population decline but, at the same time, a significant growth in terms of peasant prosperity.¹³ Many small sites were abandoned. Abandoned settlements are far more common in this area than elsewhere in the county. These tended to be smaller settlements, usually hamlets, on the fringes of villages. Some of these deserted sites are grouped around the towns of Stevenage and Buntingford. Of 59 deserted sites, 37 are in the north-east quarter of the county. Ruins of churches also provide evidence of deserted sites and are to be found at Throcking, Layston and Thundridge.¹⁴ Failure of small sites may be evidence of increased agricultural activities and effectiveness, or reflect a tendency towards increased nucleation of settlements.

In addition to the total failure of some settlements, as we have seen, some medieval market towns failed to retain active markets and reverted to the status of villages. Examples are Codicote, Knebworth, Braughing and Puckeridge.

By the end of the fourteenth century, some parishes in the north and east of the county had lost their economic pre-eminence and prosperity. Increasingly, economic

¹² Brown, Market Town, 23, 36, 69.

¹³ Munby, Landscape, 122.

¹⁴ Ibid., 124.

activity became concentrated in the south and west of the county where trading links with London were established. These trends were to become more strongly reinforced over time. But, in general, the north and east remained purely agricultural, specialising in wheat and malt for the London market. By the close of the eighteenth century, Hertfordshire was described by the Board of Agriculture as '...the first and best corn country in the kingdom.'¹⁵

But, during the nineteenth century, these northern and eastern parishes were to experience population stagnation and decline. In 1850 the main line of the Great Northern Railway opened in the north of the county, followed ten years later by the Luton and Dunstable branch. Baldock, Hitchin, Stevenage and Welwyn obtained railway stations during the first phase of railway building. Knebworth acquired a railway station in 1884; Letchworth did not receive one until much later in 1903, co-incident with the new city development.

The railway network extended late into eastern Hertfordshire, when the Buntingford branch of the Great Eastern Railway, terminating at Buntingford, was opened in 1863. Railway stations were located at Buntingford, Westmill, Braughing, Standon, Much Hadham, Widford, and Ware.

¹⁵ D. Walker, Board of Agriculture. General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hertford, 1795.

Delineation of the Study Areas

Two areas of contiguous parishes, from the north and east of the county respectively, have been selected for detailed study of self-sufficiency (Figure 7). To satisfy the assumptions of Central Place Theory, the two areas should, as far as possible, have experienced similar economic and environmental influences; and similar farming patterns. Cereal growing was the main agricultural activity in both areas (Tables 81 and 82, Appendix 1). In the nineteenth century, wheat, especially, was the main crop in both areas, closely followed by barley (Tables 79 and 80, Appendix 1).

Statistical techniques were used to determine the extent to which the two groups of study parishes were similar in terms of land use and economic activity. The two groups were treated as samples from a parent population and the extent to which the means and variances of the proportions of acreages devoted to each type of farming activity (cereal, grass and other crops) differed was tested using inferential statistics. The parent distributions were assumed to be normal.¹⁶

¹⁶ The means (m_1 and m_2) and variances (s_1^2 and s_2^2) were calculated for the proportion of the parish acreage under each type of land use: cereals, grass and other crops, for each area.

The test statistic for the comparison of two variances is the ratio of the two sample variances s_1^2/s_2^2 , which is distributed as F with (n_1-1) and (n_2-1) degrees of freedom (d.f.). The larger of the two variances is always put in the numerator. For a probability value of 0.05, the region of rejection is approximately $F \geq 2.53$ for (15,14) d.f. and $F \geq 2.48$ for (14,15) d.f.

The F statistics for the three types of land use: cereal, grass and other crops were 1.21, 1.34 and 2.17 respectively, well outside the region of rejection.

Only a very small proportion of Hertfordshire villages can be regarded as falling into the 'closed' category. Knebworth was the only village in the study areas which exhibited most of the characteristics of a closed village. This was part of the Lytton estate, with a single dominant landlord and very few services were available locally, despite having been granted the status of market town in medieval times. However, after the railway station was opened in 1884, an adventitious population was attracted to the village along with some crafts and trades to service the population. A more liberal attitude on the part of the then landowner permitted the establishment of rural service providers in the village.

Market towns have been excluded from the detailed study of village self-sufficiency because Central Place Theory was assumed to apply, that is, that the villages themselves

We may therefore conclude that the two variances are equal for each land use type.

For the comparison of two means where the variances are unknown but are assumed to be equal, a 't' test applies. An estimate of the common variance is

$$s_p^2 = [(n_1 - 1)s_1^2 + (n_2 - 1)s_2^2] / (n_1 + n_2 - 2)$$

The test statistic is then

$$t = (m_1 - m_2) / (s_p \times \text{square root}(1/n_1 + 1/n_2))$$

with $(n_1 + n_2 - 2)$ d.f.

For a probability value of 0.05, $t = 2.04$. The values of the t statistic for each type of land use: cereal, grass and other crops, were 0.84, 1.11 and 0.79 respectively, well outside the region of rejection.

We may therefore conclude that the two means are not significantly different for each land use type. Thus the land use characteristics for the two groups of parishes do not differ significantly.

would have been hierarchically dependent on the market towns for higher-order services. In addition, the market town of Buntingford was located in the parishes of Layston, Aspenden, Throcking and Wyddial. Therefore these parishes have been excluded from the study.

After the application of all these selection criteria, we are left with sixteen rural parishes in the Stevenage area and fifteen in the Buntingford area for further detailed analysis (Figure 7). Each parish contained a nucleated village settlement, usually having the same name as the parish. An exception was the parish of Standon which contained two substantial villages, Puckeridge and Standon. These were situated about one mile apart but they have been treated as one settlement for the purposes of this study.

Distribution of the Crafts and Trades

Table 44 shows the population distribution in the two areas for the period 1801-1901. The Stevenage area as a whole reached a peak of population in 1871, while the Buntingford area recorded the maximum population in 1851. Individual parishes within the two groups experienced population peaks in different years. The population in the Buntingford area exceeded that in the Stevenage area at the beginning of the century, but the reverse was the case from 1881. The population in the Stevenage area in 1901 was 92 per cent of its peak population in 1871 while the 1901 population in the Buntingford area was 77 per cent of the peak population in 1851. All these trends indicate that rural depopulation was therefore more severe in the Buntingford area.

TABLE 44a.--Population distribution of study areas,
1801-1901, Stevenage area.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Aston										
416	403	509	494	556	626	639	662	571	541	543
Ayot St. Peter										
168	176	233	271	240	282	234	232	219	215	221
Codicote										
584	655	795	805	906	1039	1227	1214	1191	1123	1145
Datchworth										
410	447	494	593	581	648	635	606	626	672	650
Graveley										
260	276	316	331	403	412	422	443	380	406	409
Great Wymondley										
200	212	329	321	263	335	314	276	270	255	279
Ippollitts										
464	541	671	874	919	965	952	994	1008	894	840
Kings Walden										
727	779	926	1004	1034	1164	1183	1156	1135	1124	1026
Knebworth										
225	182	266	259	253	290	250	245	250	382	548
Little Wymondley										
169	188	227	226	288	300	318	356	401	411	337
Offley										
602	754	873	967	1140	1208	1215	1346	1302	1268	1066
Shephall										
120	131	187	217	265	242	243	216	221	206	194
St. Pauls Walden										
758	767	906	1058	1113	1175	1123	1154	1020	946	929
Walkern										
501	554	631	771	718	738	823	799	843	849	788
Welwyn										
1015	1130	1287	1369	1395	1557	1612	1634	1742	1754	1703
Weston										
729	708	927	1046	1123	1186	1196	1123	969	876	841
Total										
7348	7903	9577	10606	11197	12167	12386	12456	12148	11922	11519

KEY TO COLUMNS:

1	1801	2	1811
3	1821	4	1831
5	1841	6	1851
7	1861	8	1871
9	1881	10	1891
11	1901		

Source: Victoria County History of Hertfordshire,
(1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol.
4, 235-238.

TABLE 44b.--Population distribution of study areas,
1801-1901, Buntingford area.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<hr/>										
Albury										
557	519	596	631	641	668	700	673	621	563	505
Anstey										
387	371	440	417	497	465	473	412	391	396	364
Barkway										
851	858	993	1108	1291	1288	1221	1188	999	968	829
Barley										
494	593	695	704	792	870	809	714	615	574	505
Braughing										
972	1029	1228	1266	1358	1246	1180	1076	1022	974	930
Buckland										
300	288	343	373	435	386	385	362	358	376	244
Great Hadham										
980	1081	1208	1268	1318	1264	1172	1318	1298	1274	1199
Great Hornead										
467	513	564	576	595	601	660	631	519	436	376
Little Hadham										
685	670	787	878	890	878	864	869	853	733	655
Little Hornead										
103	94	112	107	121	87	103	143	127	116	128
Sandon										
595	580	646	716	804	770	771	810	763	728	578
Standon										
1846	1889	2135	2272	2299	2462	2245	2259	2069	2153	2240
Therfield										
707	692	872	974	1224	1335	1222	1237	1175	996	856
Thundridge										
437	517	529	588	535	572	489	455	467	450	396
Westmill										
328	365	415	418	425	380	353	337	361	302	355
<hr/>										
Total										
9709	10059	11563	12296	13225	13272	12647	12484	11638	11039	10160
<hr/>										

KEY TO COLUMNS:

1	1801	2	1811
3	1821	4	1831
5	1841	6	1851
7	1861	8	1871
9	1881	10	1891
11	1901		

Source: Victoria County History of Hertfordshire,
(1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol.
4, 235-238.

TABLE 45.--Numbers employed and number of outlets in the commonest crafts and trades.

	Employed Outlets		Employed Outlets	
	1851	1850	1891	1890
Publican/hotel/innkeeper/ beer seller	166	147	241	217
Grocer/draper/shopkeeper	154	94	249	105
Carpenter/wheelwright	312	54	255	46
Blacksmith/farrier	122	38	119	40
Boot and shoe maker/cordwainer	176	38	90	37
Baker	69	28	102	38
Butcher	77	26	83	25
Miller	73	24	56	16
Tailor	59	19	34	9
Builder/bricklayer	117	14	173	30
Saddler/harness/collar maker	26	10	22	12

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1850,
Kelly's Directory, 1890,
 Census Enumerators' Books, 1851, 1891.

TABLE 46a.--Actual number of outlets.

	1855		1878		1902	
	A	B	A	B	A	B
Builder/bricklayer	9	11	12	17	8	15
Carpenter/wheelwright	20	29	20	32	17	21
Publican/hotel/innkeeper/ beer seller	48	56	49	71	54	71
Saddler/harness/collar maker	3	7	5	8	5	7
Miller	11	11	9	11	5	8
Grocer/draper/shopkeeper	43	44	59	64	48	56
Butcher	12	14	10	17	11	14
Boot maker/cordwainer	16	18	20	22	22	15
Blacksmith/farrier	18	18	21	22	17	18
Baker	13	11	19	19	18	15
Tailor	10	10	11	10	7	3

KEY TO COLUMNS:

A Stevenage area.

B Buntingford area.

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.

The crafts and trades selected for detailed examination are those present in the study parishes in the greatest numbers in the years 1850 and 1851. Table 45 shows the number of persons employed and the number of outlets in 1850/51 and 1890/91.

TABLE 46b--Percentage of outlets.

	1855		1878		1902	
	A	B	A	B	A	B
County population present*	7.4	7.8	6.0	5.8	4.6	4.1
Builder/bricklayer	5.2	6.4	5.3	7.5	2.6	4.9
Carpenter/wheelwright	7.9	11.5	7.2	11.6	9.1	11.2
Publican/hotel/innkeeper/ beer seller	6.7	7.9	5.5	8.0	5.6	7.4
Saddler/harness/collar maker	3.6	8.4	6.0	9.5	5.6	7.8
Miller	12.0	12.0	9.4	11.5	7.4	11.8
Grocer/draper/shopkeeper	6.0	6.2	6.0	6.5	3.9	4.5
Butcher	5.2	6.0	4.2	7.2	3.6	4.6
Boot maker/cordwainer	5.8	6.6	5.4	5.9	6.1	4.1
Blacksmith/farrier	8.8	8.8	9.2	9.6	8.2	8.7
Baker	6.3	5.3	6.0	6.0	5.2	4.3
Tailor	5.1	5.1	5.0	4.5	3.4	1.4

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- A Stevenage area.
B Buntingford area.

* The 1855 population is estimated to be the mean of the 1851 and 1861 census populations.
The 1878 population is estimated to be the 1881 population.
The 1902 population is estimated to be the 1901 population.

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1855,
Kelly's Directory, 1878,
Kelly's Directory, 1902.

The crafts and trades present in the greatest numbers are the traditional crafts and trades (See Chapters 6 and 7). The rank ordering was similar to that for the threshold populations in 1855 (Table 12 Chapter 4 and Table 40 Chapter 7), except that the positions of blacksmith and wheelwright, and baker and tailor, were reversed. This similarity

indicates that these occupations had the same relative importance in purely agricultural communities in Hertfordshire and in other rural communities in the county.

Table 46a shows the actual number of outlets recorded in the Stevenage and Buntingford areas for 1855, 1878 and 1902. Table 46b shows the corresponding percentages of outlets compared to the percentage of the county population resident in these areas. In 1855, the Stevenage area had a greater proportion of carpenter/wheelwrights, millers and blacksmiths than population, with lower proportions in the other trades and crafts. By 1878 the area had average concentrations of saddlers, grocers and bakers. By 1902 there were relatively higher concentrations of carpenter/wheelwrights, public houses, saddlers, millers, bootmakers, blacksmiths and bakers.

Spearman's Rho values for the population size versus concentration of service provision for the 11 selected rural crafts and trades indicate that services were fairly evenly distributed in the villages in relation to population size in 1850/1851 (Table 10).¹⁷ This suggests that the predominant system of rural service provision was segregation or self-sufficiency. The range of crafts and

¹⁷ For each village, the concentration of rural service provision was calculated by dividing village population size by the number of craft and trade outlets present in the village. Rho values near to zero suggest little correlation between village population size and concentration of rural service provision, that is, rural self-sufficiency. Statistically significant Rho values indicate concentrations of rural services in larger villages, which constitutes evidence of hierarchical dependence.

trades present in the area suggests that the villages were experiencing the second phase of self-sufficiency defined in Chapter 6. However, by 1890/1891, the predominant system of rural service provision was hierarchical dependence of the smaller villages on the larger ones, as indicated by Spearman's Rho values greater than the 0.05 significance level. This suggests that the selected crafts and trades were more concentrated in the larger villages which now functioned as service centres for the smaller villages in the area. Appendix 1 shows the number of master craftsmen and tradesmen in each village in the Stevenage area. These can be equated with the number of outlets. Two villages, St. Paul's Walden/Whitwell and Welwyn, possessed a full complement of the selected crafts and trades in 1890/1891. The relative concentration of most of the rural services in the area as a whole, relative to the population, indicates that villagers were able to obtain these services either from their own village or from neighbouring villages without having to resort to services in nearby market towns.

The selected villages in the Stevenage area were in contiguous parishes with the exception of 'holes' caused by the exclusion of the market towns of Hitchin and Stevenage. Therefore, there is the possibility of lateral interdependence: that is, villages could have specialised in complementary services to their mutual benefit.¹⁸ For example, in 1850/1851, St. Paul's Walden possessed a saddler but no builder, while the adjacent village of Codicote

¹⁸ I.G. Weekley. 'Lateral interdependence as an aspect of rural service provision: a Northamptonshire case study,' East Midland Geographer, Vol. 6, 1977, 361-374.

possessed a builder but no saddler. Thus, the villagers of St. Paul's Walden may have obtained building services from Codicote, while residents in Codicote may have benefited from the services of St. Paul's Walden's saddler.¹⁹

The concept of 'self-sufficiency' has been used here at several different levels. The 'self-sufficient village' is a village that is able to fulfil its own demand for the five essential goods and services that we have defined in Chapter 6--without reliance on market towns or nearby villages. A village of this type may also supply goods and services to other less-favoured villages. For example, St. Paul's Walden/Whitwell and Welwyn possessed all 11 services in 1890/1891 and therefore these may be regarded as self-sufficient in terms of these goods and services.

In a 'self-sufficient system' or 'segregated system' of rural service provision, not all villages in the system would have been self-sufficient in the above sense. Villages with a smaller range of services would have obtained the goods and services that they lacked from other villages, but there would not have been marked concentrations of these services in larger centres. In other words, goods and services were provided through complementary services that are inherent to the idea of lateral interdependence.

¹⁹ This topic cannot be explored further here because it is impossible to determine from the data which villages supplied services to, or received services from, other villages.

Where hierarchical dependence turned out to be the predominant system of rural service provision in an area, some villages in the system would have served as central villages, supplying goods and services to villages where these were lacking. A system of this nature could operate without much reliance on nearby market towns to supply the goods and services needed by villagers. Thus, a hierarchically dependent system, where all the traditional crafts and trades were supplied by central villages, could be said to be 'self-sufficient' in its own right because the system of rural service provision could operate independently of the towns.

The villages in the Stevenage area were probably not self-sufficient in this sense in 1890/91. St. Paul's Walden/Whitwell, Welwyn, and the market towns of Hitchin and Stevenage were approximately equidistant from each other and it seems likely that villages adjoining the market towns would have obtained their services from these town centres rather than from central villages.

With the exception of bakers and tailors, and bootmakers in 1902, the Buntingford area had a higher proportion of all the traditional crafts and trades than the Stevenage area (Table 46). This area had a higher than average proportion of carpenter/wheelwrights, public houses, saddlers, millers and blacksmiths relative to the population in 1855. By 1878, there were also relatively large concentrations here of builders, grocers, butchers,

bootmakers and bakers. Only tailors were under-represented in the Buntingford area in 1878 and 1902.

Tailors were relatively lacking in both the Stevenage and Buntingford areas at the end of the century. The census enumerators' books for 1891 record eight master tailors in five villages in the Stevenage area, seven tailors in five villages in the Buntingford area. This was a substantial decline from eight villages (14 tailors) in the Stevenage area and five villages (10 tailors) in the Buntingford area in 1851. Tables 101 and 122 in Appendix 1 suggest that tailors were underrepresented in the directories in both 1851 and 1891 and this was probably also the case in 1855, 1878 and 1902. Nevertheless, both sources indicate that there was a marked decline in this trade as the century progressed. It is by no means clear why this trade appears to decline more rapidly in the Buntingford area than in the Stevenage area. It may have been more sensitive to population decline than other rural occupations, as discussed in Chapter 7.

The concentration of the 10 remaining crafts and trades relative to the population was greater in 1902 than in 1855 in the Buntingford area.

Spearman's Rho values for population versus concentration of service provision for the selected crafts and trades in this area showed that services were relatively evenly distributed among the villages for the years 1850/1851 and 1890/1891 (Chapter 4). Thus self-sufficiency

or segregation was the predominant system of rural service provision in this area for both years. The area comprised contiguous rural parishes and provided appropriate conditions for the operation of lateral interdependence between specific villages. This area retained its predominantly agricultural character well into the twentieth century. Similar, in many respects, to the Stevenage area in 1850/51, the range of rural services suggests that these villages were in the second phase of self-sufficiency.

An interesting point to note is that in 1851 the essential services which identify the existence or otherwise of village self-sufficiency (carpenter/wheelwright, blacksmith/farrier, boot and shoe maker, grocer/shopkeeper, and publican/beer retailer) had the greatest numbers of outlets and employed the greatest numbers in comparison with the remaining six occupational groups. By 1891, bakers exceeded bootmakers, both in the numbers employed and in the number of outlets. Bakers also had a lower threshold population than bootmakers in 1891 for Hertfordshire villages as a whole, although bootmakers maintained their lower rank position relative to bakers in the study areas in 1878 and 1902 (Table 40 and Table 12).

This suggests that by the end of the century, the services of the baker were more important to village communities than those of the bootmaker. In terms of the definition of self-sufficiency, household independence was still declining. It may be that the concept of self-sufficiency should be re-examined and that the baker should

replace the bootmaker as one of the core essential trades by the end of the nineteenth century. Village self-sufficiency appears to be a concept that changed through time, like, indeed, the notion of rurality (Chapter 5).

The Persistence of Rural Crafts and Trades

Isolation was a factor in persistent village self-sufficiency in Yorkshire. 'The isolation of [Wensleydale and Swaledale], and the consequent high cost of importing factory products, enabled craftsmen in the two dales to continue in business long after their counterparts in more accessible parts of the countryside had succumbed to competitors from mass produced goods.'²⁰

However, the villages of the Yorkshire dales were much more inaccessible than Hertfordshire villages. The villages in both these localities were no more than six miles distant from the nearest market town. Thus, on its own account alone, lack of accessibility cannot explain the persistence of self-sufficiency in rural Hertfordshire.

Despite population decline, the concentration of the village-based crafts and trades in the Buntingford area probably led to overcrowding in these occupations at the end of the century. This may have been a prelude to the eventual disappearance of self-sufficiency.

²⁰ C. Hallas, 'Craft occupations in the late nineteenth century: some local considerations' in Local Population Studies, No. 44, Spring 1990, 18-29, 28.

Davey has suggested that rural craftsmen and tradesmen experienced progressive economic difficulties in the nineteenth century and, in consequence, their numbers declined. His argument is that unsuccessful service providers, more skilled than agricultural labourers, were much more likely to migrate or emigrate than did unskilled workers.²¹ However, despite population decline, the numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen were maintained in both the Stevenage and Buntingford areas. Therefore, this argument does not appear to be valid in this context.

It could well have been that some craftsmen and tradesmen were uncertain as to the profitability of their businesses--both in the short-term and in the long-term. Writing of the period 1884-1891, George Sturt stated in the context of his wheelwright business that he did not know which parts of his business were profitable and which were making a loss.²² Many craftsmen and tradesmen practised a sort of barter-type credit system where they would render services to their regular customers whom, in turn, they would also patronise. Any outstanding balance on account would eventually be settled, but this could take a year or more. That is, this was all done in the interests of mutual community benefit, or interdependence, amongst individual craftsmen and tradesmen.

²¹ B.J. Davey, Ashwell, 1830-1914: The decline of a village community, Department of English Local History Occasional Papers Third Series No. 5, Leicester University Press, 1980, 5.

²² G. Sturt, The Wheelwright's Shop, Cambridge University Press, 1923, repr. 1975, 197-8.

Thus the village economy functioned differently from the town economy and there was much extension of credit. This could explain why some craftsmen and tradesmen did not appear to be making rational economic decisions, which ultimately resulted in a form of geographical inertia in so far as location and distribution of trades was concerned.

A factor which could explain the persistence of such crafts as blacksmith/farrier and carpenter/wheelwright is that often they were able to adapt to changing technologies. When agricultural implements and machinery began to be manufactured by the large engineering concerns, it was the village blacksmith that was in the best position to act as a local agent for these new enterprises. Moreover, he was able to offer a repairs and after-sales service that was essential in a farming community. Bicycles became a common form of personal transport toward the end of the nineteenth century and likewise many blacksmiths diversified into this new trade, becoming cycle agents and cycle repairers.²³

Similarly, demand for the skills of the wheelwright changed. Whereas formerly the wheelwright had constructed wagons and carts to suit the needs of individual farmers and the locality, farmers increasingly purchased factory-built wagons which the wheelwright was called upon to repair. Or, alternatively, the wheelwright himself changed from making agricultural vehicles to making trade vans and carts.²⁴

²³ Kelly's Directory, 1910, entry for Much Hadham.

²⁴ Sturt, Wheelwright's Shop, 201-2

Boot and shoe making also had been another widespread creative craft. However, as more and more mass-produced boots became available, the rural bootmaker was more often merely a repairer of factory-made boots produced in the nationally important centres of production. Thus, it is clear that rural craftsmen may still have been able to earn a livelihood but the traditional crafts in which they had been engaged were becoming de-skilled towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Another possibility for the apparent lingering on of distinctive countryside crafts and trades is that craftsmen and tradesmen who considered themselves too old to embark on a more profitable occupation decided to stay where they were until retirement. An analysis of ages of craftsmen and tradesmen in St. Paul's Walden and Much Hadham between 1851 and 1891 indicates, however, that no clear trends were discernible, possibly because the numbers of service providers involved were too small (25-40 and 22-38 in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden respectively for the census years of 1851-1891). This is a topic that offers further meaningful opportunities of investigation.

Everitt has singled out decayed market towns as probable central villages:

When they reverted to village status, ... [decayed market towns] remained villages with a difference... Many continued to exist as small centres of retail trade and expanded as local centres once again with the rise

of the 'village shop' in the later eighteenth century.²⁵

The decayed market towns of Puckeridge (Standon), Braughing and Codicote had eight or more of the selected occupational groups in each of the study years. There is no evidence that there had ever been an active market at Knebworth although the settlement had medieval market rights. This, together with the single dominant landlord, may account for the small range of services in Knebworth in the nineteenth century before the acquisition of a railway station.

Welwyn had ten of the selected occupations in the study years 1855, 1878 and 1902 and possessed all eleven services in 1890/91. Thus, the settlement was comparable to a decayed market town in its range of crafts and trades, but, in reality, this was an emerging urban centre, with the petty session court and it also functioned as a centre for a poor law union.

There is some evidence to support Everitt's assertion: all the decayed market towns in the area were self-sufficient and also possessed, as well, other rural crafts and trades. St. Paul's Walden/Whitwell also possessed the full complement of services in 1890/91 and probably functioned as a central village in the area. All the evidence suggests that this small settlement was neither a decayed market town nor an emerging urban centre.

²⁵ A. Everitt, The pattern of dissent: the nineteenth century, Department of English Local History Occasional Papers Second Series No. 4, Leicester University Press, 1972, 30.

These interpretations, while they seem plausible, do not provide an explanation of why villages around Stevenage lost self-sufficiency as a group between 1851 and 1891. Due to new direct rail links with London, the character of the population was slowly changing because of the influx of an adventitious non-agricultural population as, for example, at Knebworth and Welwyn. Eventually, Knebworth was to become a dormitory village for London commuters; and, by 1914 the north of the county, as far out as to Hitchin, was affected by the outward movement of the London suburbs.²⁶

Vince adopted 40 per cent or more of the occupied population engaged in agriculture, as his criterion of rurality. By 1921, he concluded that

the general alignment of the urban corridor was from north-west to south-east [of the country]. Almost the whole of Hertfordshire was included, except the north-east and eastern edge represented by the rural districts of Ashwell, Buntingford and Hadham remained as an essential part of rural England.²⁷

According to this criterion, villages in the Buntingford area remained rural well into the twentieth century, while those around Stevenage were acquiring urban or suburban characteristics. The process of change was gradual but progressive and it seems that the transition from a dominantly rural to an urban character had begun before the close of the nineteenth century.

²⁶ Brown, Market Town, 169.

²⁷ S.W.E. Vince, 'The rural population of England and Wales, 1801-1951,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1955, 126.

Decline in self-sufficiency appears to be associated with changes in the character of the villages themselves. It has been noted in Chapters 6 and 7 that the four subtowns of Cheshunt, Chipping Barnet, Bushey, and Great Amwell were noticeably deficient in the eleven traditional crafts and trades relative to Hertfordshire villages as a whole. Self-sufficiency persisted most markedly in those villages that changed least in character. This confirms Saville's finding:

So long as village and parish populations did not fall markedly and while the local and regional markets were still intact and under no serious pressure from national competition, the outlook for rural craftsmen was a secure one.²⁸

The villages in the Buntingford area seemed to have changed little in character since medieval times, although they had experienced some economic decline. Parish boundaries and the pattern of settlement remained essentially the same, although the area had experienced population losses during the nineteenth century and probably earlier. Buntingford, although not a principal market town, retained its market throughout the nineteenth century as did Royston, the other market town in the Buntingford area. Persistence of self-sufficiency in this area may be a consequence of geographical inertia, a vestige of the area's medieval role as the economic centre of the county.

²⁸ J. Saville, Rural depopulation in England and Wales, 1851-1951, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, 209.

Conclusions

Rural self-sufficiency has been equated with rural prosperity in the minds of many observers and historians. However, this was not found to be the case in Hertfordshire. The Buntingford area of the county retained its self-sufficiency in basic crafts and trades during the entire nineteenth century with an increase in the concentration of the majority of the eleven selected village-based occupations, despite an absolute decline in population. In 1893, this area was 'a struggling community on the edge of bankruptcy.'²⁹ Some villages in this area experienced the second phase of self-sufficiency. This was characterised by a loss of what little household independence for which there is evidence, but retention of village self-sufficiency. The latter was indicated by the presence of at least the specialised crafts of carpenter or wheelwright, blacksmith or farrier, and a boot or shoe maker. An increase of village-based trades was also indicated: at least a grocer or draper or shopkeeper and a public house or beer retailer.

The systems approach favoured by Weekley³⁰ showed that the predominant system of rural service provision among groups of villages in the Buntingford area in 1850/51 was segregation or self-sufficiency and this remained the case throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus

²⁹ N. Agar, 'The Hertfordshire farmer in the age of the Industrial Revolution' in Hertfordshire in History, Papers presented to Lionel Munby, D. Jones-Baker, ed., Hertfordshire Local History Council, 1991, 256.

³⁰ I. G. Weekley, 'Lateral interdependence as an aspect of rural service provision: a Northamptonshire case study' in East Midland Geographer, Vol. 6, 1977, 361-374.

the second phase of self-sufficiency appears to be related to rural poverty rather than rural prosperity.

In the slightly more prosperous area of Stevenage, although some villages remained self-sufficient in the sense of the second phase, the systems approach showed that the predominant system of rural service provision changed from segregation at mid-century to a system of hierarchical dependence by the last decade of the century. Thus some villages, including St. Paul's Walden, had higher concentrations of craftsmen and tradesmen relative to other villages and, in addition to being self-sufficient in the basic crafts and trades, were also able to function as service centres for less favoured villages. This area appeared to have adapted to changing economic circumstances more successfully than the Buntingford area and the change in the predominant system of rural service provision may be a manifestation of this flexibility. An increase in a non-agricultural, commuter population in this area may be a contributory factor in that this may have resulted in reduced demand for the traditional village services.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY OF TWO PARISHES

Rural craftsmen and tradesmen functioned within their rural community. Understanding the place of rural craftsmen and tradesmen in the community and how they interacted with other groups, goes some way to explaining the pressures and opportunities they experienced. For these reasons, the social and economic behaviour of rural service providers can be better understood within the context of the notion of 'community'.

The traditional view of community is strongly identified with geographical location.

There is a social arena, and usually a physical space too, which is taken to be the community. It is the locus of public social organisation, situated between the front doors where the private space of households starts and the edge of the village or parish where 'community' becomes 'state'.¹

Evidence from Hertfordshire suggests that nineteenth-century country people identified strongly with their parish of residence. Acts of Parliament in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave legal status to the parish as a secular authority, governed through the meetings of its vestry. Most vestries were open, that is, any male ratepayer could attend and vote. The vestry appointed churchwardens, the sexton, and, subject to the approval of the justices of the peace, overseers of the poor, surveyors

¹ S. Wright, 'Image and analysis: new directions in community studies' in The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis, B. Short, ed., Cambridge University Press, 1992, 195-217, 205. Also, R. Finnegan, 'Community: What is it?' in W.T.R. Pryce, ed., From family history to community history, Cambridge University Press in association with The Open University, 1994, 209-214.

of highways and constables. The parish had the authority to levy a rate for poor relief and repair of the highways. The Local Government Act of 1894 established parish councils to be elected in rural areas with a population of more than 300. These could also be elected in parishes with smaller populations. In Hertfordshire, the majority of parishes corresponded with nucleated settlements. There is much evidence that, even in the few scattered settlements in Hertfordshire, the inhabitants identified strongly with their parish.²

However, there are some indications that where a parish contained more than one nucleated settlement, in some circumstances, inhabitants identified more positively with the settlement than the parish. For example, in the parish of St. Paul's Walden, the main settlement was the hamlet of Whitwell; the hamlet of Bendish and the village of St. Paul's Walden were also nucleated settlements within the parish. The census enumerators for the period 1851-1891 recorded the settlement of origin rather than the parish of origin for the native inhabitants of the parish.

Attitudes of residents of one parish towards residents of neighbouring parishes are also on record. Grey wrote of Harpenden residents in the early twentieth century:

...we have found two other distinct gleaning parties already there waiting on the village greens, the one from Wheathampstead, the other from Sandridge, our own making a third, but the members of neither party

² N.E. Agar, 'Employment and community in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire in the nineteenth century,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of East Anglia, 1979, 213.

fraternized, and even when mixed up in the field gleaning rarely entered into conversation, for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.³

Wheathampstead is a rural parish adjoining Harpenden, while the parish of Sandridge has a common border with Wheathampstead. The above comment suggests that there was an attitude of conscious indifference towards the residents of different parishes.

There are also indications that relations between residents of different parishes could be less than cordial. Rook quotes a rhyme current in Welwyn parish in the nineteenth century that refers to the market town of Stevenage:

And onwards to Cave Wood your way you stake,
Where Stevenage robbers often did conceal
What to the World they never dare reveal.
Long noted Stevenage, where the Mothers bawl,
And to the Scorpion brood, poor things, they call;
Turnips and Gateposts they are taught to steal
Soon as the Pap within their mouths they feel.⁴

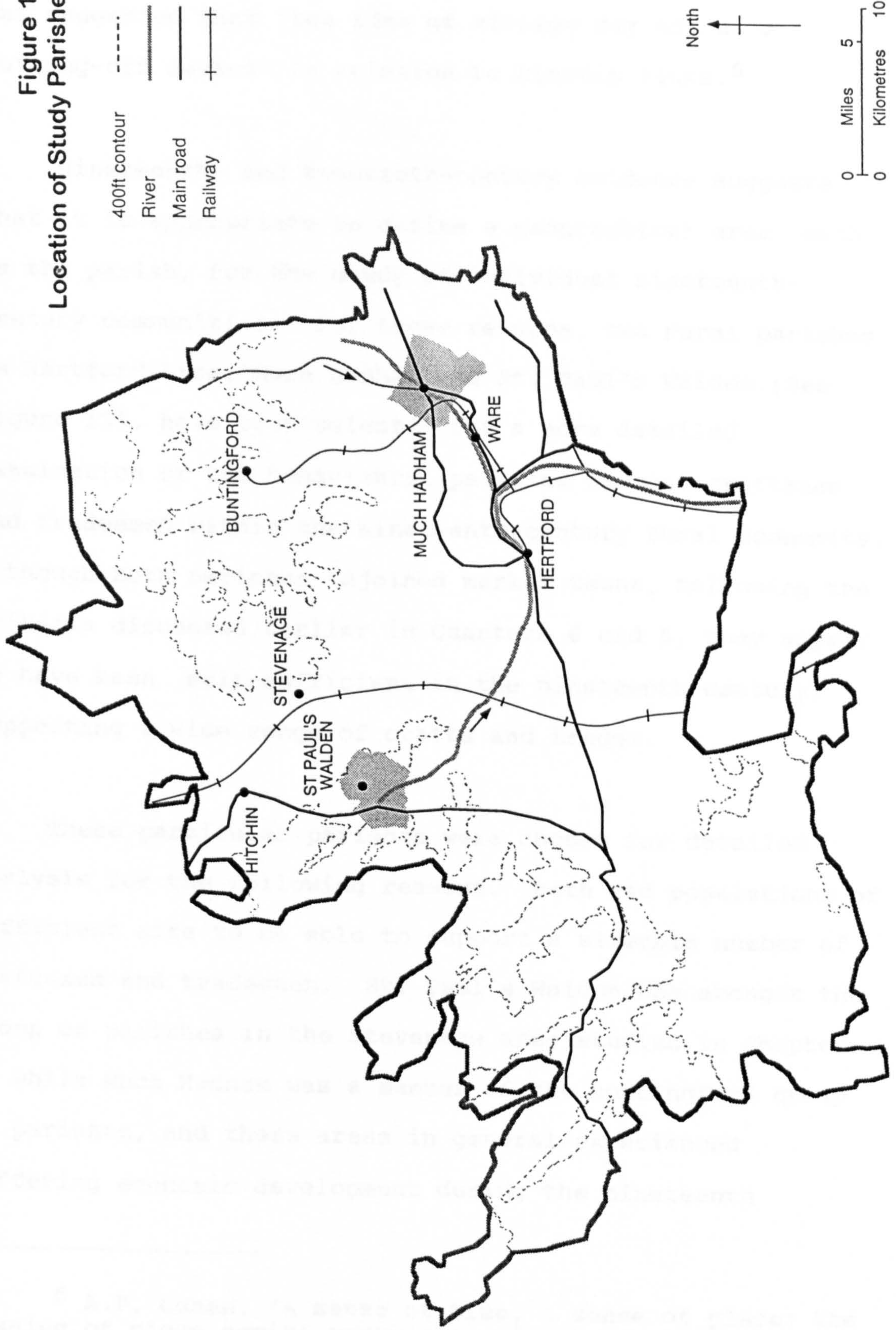
It is not clear whether this is a manifestation of suspicion between a rural parish (Welwyn) and a market town (Stevenage) or whether this can be taken as evidence of inter-parish rivalry.

Twentieth-century studies suggest that locality is bound up with the notion of community. Cohen's research on Whalsay in Shetland revealed that groups of kin identified

³ E. Grey, Cottage life in a Hertfordshire village, Harpenden and District Local History Society, 1977, 121-2.

⁴ A. Rook, A history of Hertfordshire, Phillimore, 1984, 42.

Figure 13
Location of Study Parishes



strongly with particular townships.⁵ Moreover, Strathern has suggested that 'the idea of village may act as a cutting-off device' in relation to kinship links.⁶

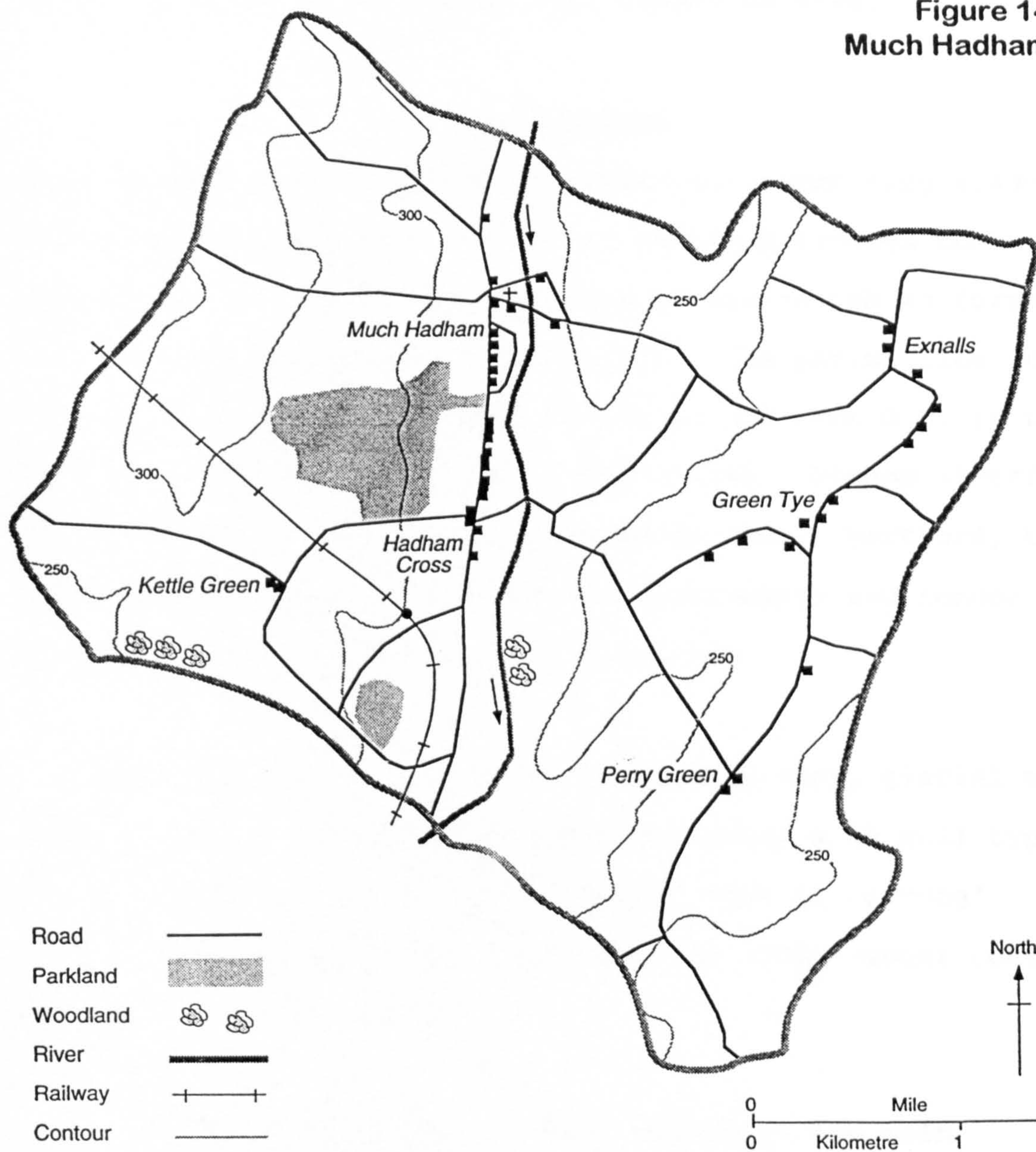
Nineteenth- and twentieth-century evidence suggests that it is appropriate to define a geographical area, such as the parish, for the study of individual nineteenth-century communities. For these reasons, two rural parishes in Hertfordshire, Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden (See Figure 13), have been selected for a more detailed examination of the behavioural patterns amongst craftsmen and tradesmen within the nineteenth-century rural community. Although both parishes adjoined market towns, following the criteria discussed earlier in Chapters 6 and 8, they appear to have been self-sufficient in the nineteenth century, supporting a wide range of crafts and trades.

These particular parishes were chosen for detailed analysis for the following reasons. Both had populations of sufficient size to be able to support a sizeable number of craftsmen and tradesmen. St. Paul's Walden was amongst the group of parishes in the Stevenage area studied in Chapter 8, while Much Hadham was a member of the Buntingford group of parishes, and these areas in general experienced differing economic development during the nineteenth

⁵ A.P. Cohen, 'A sense of time, a sense of place: the meaning of close social association in Whalsay, Shetland' in Belonging: Identity and social organisation in British Rural Cultures, A.P. Cohen, ed., Manchester University Press, 1982, 21-49, 30.

⁶ M. Strathern, 'The place of kinship: Kin, class and village status in Elmdon, Essex' in Belonging, 72-100, 81.

Figure 14
Much Hadham



century. Finally, each parish belonged to a cluster of self-sufficient parishes in its respective area.

Much Hadham

Much Hadham ancient parish is extensive, comprising 4,490 acres (see Figure 14). The river Ash runs through the parish and the south-east boundary of the parish is formed by the stream called Fiddler's Brook. The parish lies 200 feet O.D. in the Ash Valley, rising to 352 feet O.D. in the north and 300 feet O.D. out of the valley. Bishop Stortford is the nearest market town, five miles away. Hertford, the county town, is nine miles to the south-west; and London is a mere 25 miles away south of the parish.

The geology of the parish is boulder clay, glacial and valley gravel, middle chalk and upper chalk with soil types including gley, clay or stony loams. This is 'strong' arable land, supporting a wide range of crops--sugar beet, potatoes, peas and beans.⁷

Although the village of Much Hadham is the main nucleated settlement and the commercial centre of the parish, there are a number of smaller settlements within the parish. Some craftsmen and tradesmen operated out of the hamlet of Hadham Cross, the principal part of which had developed along the road running north to Stane Street and south to Widford, Hunsdon and Stanstead Abbots. The hamlet of Perry Green lies two miles south-east of Much Hadham

⁷ A.J. Thomasson and B.W. Avery, Agricultural Research Council Soil Survey. Special Survey No. 3, The soils of Hertfordshire, Harpenden, 1970, 9, 11.

whilst Green Tye lies one-and-a-half miles to the south-east. Green Tye fair, held on 23 June, ceased to occur in 1878. The smaller settlement of Exnalls is two miles south-east of the village; Bromley is one-and-a-half miles north-west. Table 47 shows the population of each type of settlement in the nineteenth century.

TABLE 47.--Much Hadham population, 1801-1901.

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Parish total	980	1081	1208	1268	1318	1264	1172	1318	1298	1274	1199
Population/ acre	0.22	0.24	0.27	0.28	0.29	0.28	0.26	0.29	0.29	0.28	0.27
Acres/person	4.6	4.2	3.7	3.5	3.4	3.6	3.8	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.7
Village						741	470	479	497	442	
						59½	41½	37½	38½	35½	
Hadham Cross						149	263	320	270	258	
						12½	22½	24½	21½	20½	
Small settlements & farms						376	439	511	531	574	
						29½	37½	39½	41½	45½	

Sources: Victoria County History of Hertfordshire, (1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol. 4, 235-238; Census Enumerators' Books.

Much Hadham experienced population trends that were bi-modal in nature, with the peaks occurring in 1841 and 1871. The average population per acre was well below unity, C. M. Law's criterion for urban status.⁸ Although there was some decline in population between 1871 and 1901, the parish retained a sizeable population throughout the nineteenth century. Most of the people resided either in the village or in nearby Hadham Cross. The census enumerator's boundary between Much Hadham village and Hadham Cross may have

⁸ C.M. Law, 'The growth of urban population in England and Wales, 1801-1911' in Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 41, June 1967, 125-143, 129.

changed between 1851 and 1861 which would explain the differences in the proportions resident in these two settlements in 1851 compared with subsequent census years. A substantial proportion of the parish population lived in scattered farms and small hamlets. Between 1851 and 1901 the population increased steadily in these at the expense of the village and Hadham Cross.

Much Hadham was a town in Roman times. During the thirteenth century, the parish was one of the largest parishes in Edwinstree Hundred with extensive woods. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries wood was produced for fuel, but, by the nineteenth century, only a few small woods remained, situated in the north-west of the parish. There was an ancient manorial mill which has since disappeared. There were several manors in the parish. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 10. The distribution of landownership in the parish did not change markedly during the nineteenth century.

Much Hadham became important as a local service centre during the nineteenth century. From 1863, there was a railway station, one-and-a-half miles south-west of the village, on the Buntingford branch of the Great Eastern Railway--a diversion from the direct route in order to serve Much Hadham. A gas company was established in the village from 1867; and the public hall, erected in 1887, could seat 300 persons, and contained a reading room, library, and gymnasium. Petty sessional meetings were held here. There were public elementary schools for boys, girls and infants

in the village and an infants' school at Perry Green. The parish church of St. Andrew was situated in the village. There was also a nonconformist presence in the form of a Congregationalist chapel, erected in 1872, at Hadham Cross.⁹

Table 48a shows the land-use characteristics of Much Hadham in 1866. The acreage total for the parish exceeded the actual area, probably as a result of lack of correspondence between farm boundaries and parish boundaries.¹⁰ Wheat was the main crop grown in 1866. There were also substantial numbers of sheep (Table 48b).

TABLE 48a.--Land Use, Much Hadham, 1866.

	Acreage	%
Wheat	1282.75	22.4
Barley or bere	741.5	13.0
Oats	570.25	10.0
Beans	447.0	7.8
Peas	227.5	4.0
Turnips and swedes	291.25	5.1
Mangold	222.75	3.9
Vetches and lucernes	241.0	4.2
Clover and other grasses under rotation	471.75	8.2
Bare fallow or unoccupied arable	441.75	7.7
Permanent pasture, meadowland or grassland	772.5	13.5
Rye	4.0	0.1
Potatoes	6.8	0.1
Total	5720.8	100.0

Source: Abstract of schedules for returns of acreage of crops
(P.R.O. MAP 68/32).

⁹ Kelly's Directory, 1878, Kelly's Directory, 1910, Victoria County History of Hertford (1906-1914), Vol. 2, 405.

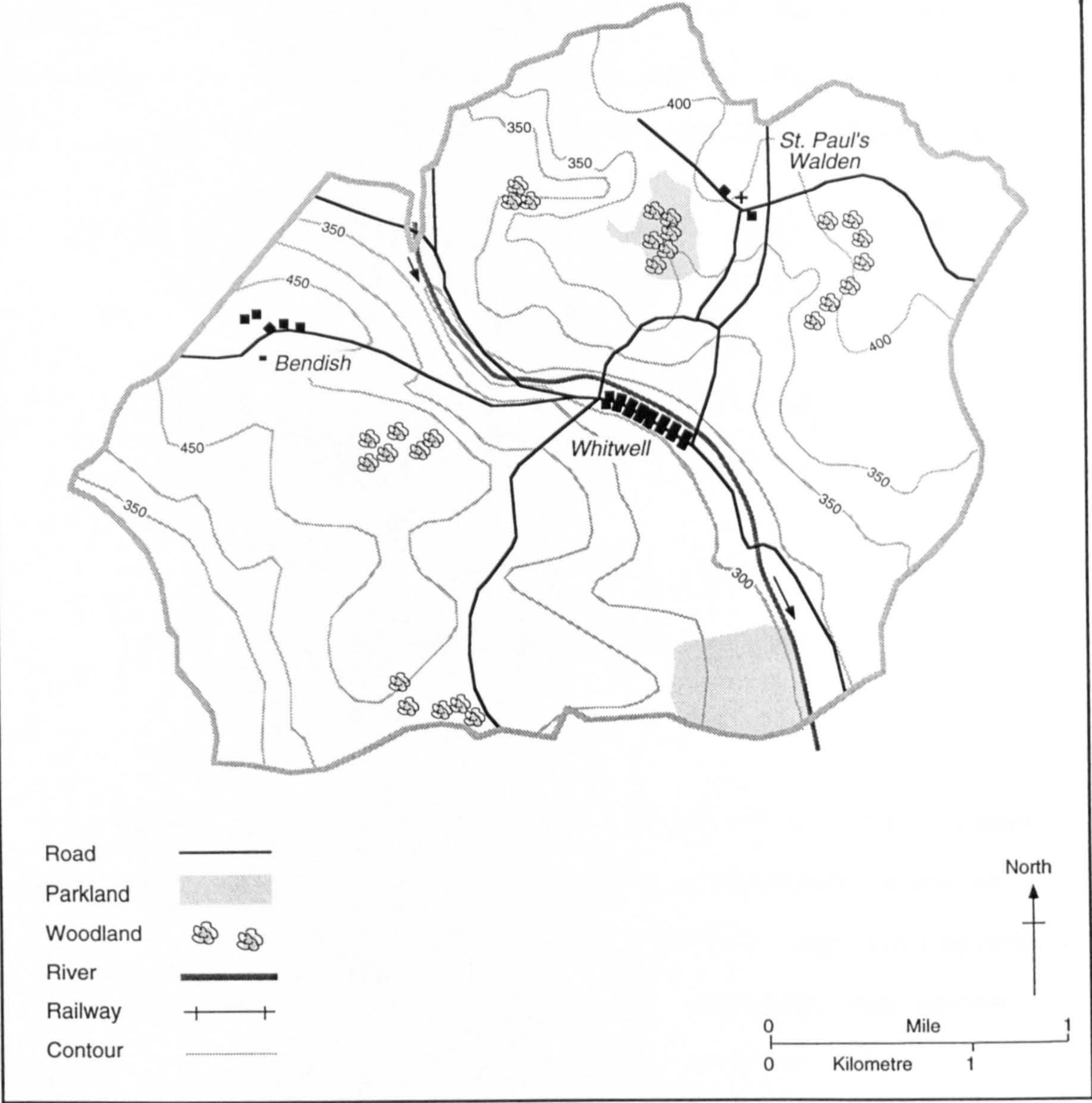
¹⁰ J. T. Coppock, 'The relationship of farm and parish boundaries: a study in the use of agricultural statistics' in Geographical Studies, Vol. 2, 1955, 17.

	Numbers: Returned by occupiers	Estimated in default	Aggregate	Per 1000 Acres
Milk cows	71	-	71	16
Other cattle >= 2 years	62	-	62	14
< 2 years	100	-	100	22
Sheep >= 1 year	1316	-	1316	293
< 1 year	801	-	801	178
Pigs	421	-	421	94

Sources: Abstract of schedules for return of live stock
(P.R.O. MAF 68/33),

Table 130, Appendix 3, gives details as to the variety of crafts and trades present in the parish in the period 1851-1891, on the basis of the numbers of self-employed or master craftsmen and tradesmen. The actual numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen remained fairly steady, varying between 24 and 32 for the years 1851-1881 increasing to 40 in 1891. This apparent increase in 1891 is explained by the changes in the classifications of occupied persons in the census enumerators' books when the new categories 'employer', 'employed' and 'neither employer nor employed' (= self-employed) were introduced. Some occupational descriptions which previously had not been included (such as dressmaker) now appeared if the enumerated person's status was recorded in the census enumerators' books as 'employer' or 'neither employer nor employed'. For each year shown, a rich variety of crafts and trades is represented in this parish. All the traditional village

Figure15
St. Paul's Walden



crafts and trades were present.¹¹ Some higher-order trades were also present, such as dispenser, florist, mechanical engineer, ship builder, and watchman (watch-maker), which were present for one or more census years. There were also a significant number of subsidiary occupations (Table 49).

TABLE 49.--Proportion of full-time occupations and multiple occupations, Much Hadham.

	1851		1861		1871		1881		1891	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Full-time	16	64	19	70	18	56	21	81	36	90
Conventional pairings*	6	24	5	19	5	16	3	12	1	3
Multiple occupations	3	12	3	11	9	28	2	8	3	8
Total number of craftsmen and tradesmen	25		27		32		26		40	

* e.g. grocer/draper, plumber/glazier, carpenter/wheelwright.

Source: Census enumerators' books.

Multiple occupations were most frequent in 1871, least frequent in 1881 and 1891. Full-time occupations were at a maximum in 1891. Thus, there seems to have been increasing specialisation from the 1870s onwards, although the above proportions are only a crude estimate based on the occupations recorded by the census enumerators and may under-represent the incidence of multiple occupations.

St. Paul's Walden

St. Paul's Walden is also an extensive parish, covering 3,720 acres (See Figure 15) based on the valley of the

¹¹ The 11 most commonly found trades in the north Hertfordshire area: publican, grocer, blacksmith, wheelwright/carpenter, bootmaker, butcher, baker, tailor, miller, saddler, and builder/bricklayer, were found in the parish during the period with the exception of miller in 1891.

river Mimram. Luton, in Bedfordshire, is the nearest market town, four-and-a-half miles away.

The geology of the parish includes glacial deposits and valley gravels, upper chalk, and alluvium. The corresponding soils are pebbly or stony loams with clay subsoil which support semi-natural vegetation, commons and woodland, producing good cereal crops with present-day agricultural methods.¹²

The parish includes several settlements in addition to the village of St. Paul's Walden itself. Whitwell is a hamlet one mile from the village and is in the form of a street one-quarter of a mile in length. This was the main trading centre of the parish in the nineteenth century where most of the craftsmen and tradesmen had their businesses. The road from the adjoining parish of Codicote joins that from the hamlet of Bendish to Whitwell. Bendish hamlet lies two-and-a-half miles from the village of St. Paul's Walden.

The population of St. Paul's Walden parish reached a peak in 1851, then decreased in each decade apart from 1871 (Table 50). The population density was similar to that of Much Hadham. More than half of the people lived in the hamlet of Whitwell. Towards the end of the century, the population became more centralised in the commercial centre at Whitwell which meant population losses in the smaller settlements.

¹² Thomasson and Avery, Soil Survey, 9, 11.

TABLE 50.--St. Paul's Walden population, 1801-1901.

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Parish total	758	767	906	1058	1113	1175	1123	1154	1020	946	929
Population/ acre	0.20	0.21	0.24	0.28	0.30	0.32	0.30	0.31	0.27	0.25	0.25
Acres/person	4.9	4.9	4.1	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.7	3.9	4.0
Village						147	106	105	73	81	
						13½	9½	9½	7½	9½	
Whitwell						619	635	669	544	574	
						53½	57½	58½	53½	60½	
Bendish						209	207	222	203	169	
						18½	18½	19½	19½	18½	
Small settlements & farms						200	175	161	197	125	
						17½	16½	14½	19½	13½	

Sources: Victoria County History of Hertfordshire, (1906-1914), edited by William Page, Vol. 4, 235-238; Census Enumerators' Books.

A watermill for grain, situated at Whitwell on the Mimram, was used up to the twentieth century. In this parish, watercress beds were farmed from the eighteenth century for the London market. There was also a tannery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although this ceased operations in the 1870s. In the nineteenth century there was an osier bed plantation. As in the case of Much Hadham, there were several manors in the parish. Again, there was no significant change in landownership patterns during the nineteenth century. St. Paul's Walden lay on the eastern edge of the straw-plaiting region centred on Bedford. Straw-plaiting was an important domestic industry in the parish in the nineteenth century.¹³

¹³ Kelly's Directory, 1878; Kelly's Directory, 1910; The Parish of St. Paul's Walden, St. Paul's Walden Society, Codicote Press, Hitchin, 1980, 22-46, passim.

In addition to being the commercial centre of the parish, Whitwell was also a centre of religious nonconformity. The Baptist chapel was built in the hamlet by 1860 and a Congregationalist chapel was erected by 1882. The hamlet of Bendish also had a Primitive Methodist chapel by 1882.¹⁴ The parish church of All Saints was located in

TABLE 51a.--Land use, St. Paul's Walden, 1866.

	Acreage	%
Wheat	701.5	16.8
Barley or bere	783	18.8
Oats	422.5	10.1
Beans	41.5	1.0
Peas	44	1.1
Turnips and swedes	494	11.9
Mangold	19.25	0.5
Cabbage, kohl, rabi, rape, savoys	53.5	1.3
Vetches, lucerne	112	2.7
Clover & other grasses under rotation	582	14.0
Bare fallow or cropped arable	157	3.8
Permanent pasture, meadow or grass	754.5	18.1
Potatoes	0.25	0.01
TOTAL	4165	100

Source: Abstract of schedules for returns of acreage of crops
(P.R.O. MAF 68/32).

TABLE 51b.--Livestock, St. Paul's Walden, 1866.

	Numbers: Returned by occupiers	Estimated in default	Aggregate	Per 1000 acres
Milk cows	43	13	56	15
Other cattle: >= 2 years	20	30	50	13
< 2 years	36	15	51	14
Sheep: >= 1 year	864	380	1244	334
< 1 year	263	186	449	121
Pigs	302	79	381	102

Sources: Abstract of schedules for return of live stock
(P.R.O. MAF 68/33),

¹⁴ Kelly's Directory, 1890.

St. Paul's Walden village. The nearest railway station was at Welwyn, four-and-a-half miles away. Mail came to the parish via Welwyn. In 1918 the first telephone exchange was established in the area.

Table 51a shows the land-use characteristics for the parish in 1866. Barley was the main crop grown. Sheep were the commonest livestock. Numbers of livestock per 1000 acres were similar to those for Much Hadham (Table 51b).

TABLE 52.--Proportion of full-time occupations and multiple occupations, St. Paul's Walden.

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Full-time	14 58	21 72	16 64	19 70	29 81
Conventional pairings*	2 8	2 7	1 4	1 4	0 0
Multiple occupations	8 33	6 21	8 32	7 26	7 19
Total number of craftsmen and tradesmen	24	29	25	27	36

* e.g. grocer/draper, plumber/glazier, carpenter/wheelwright.

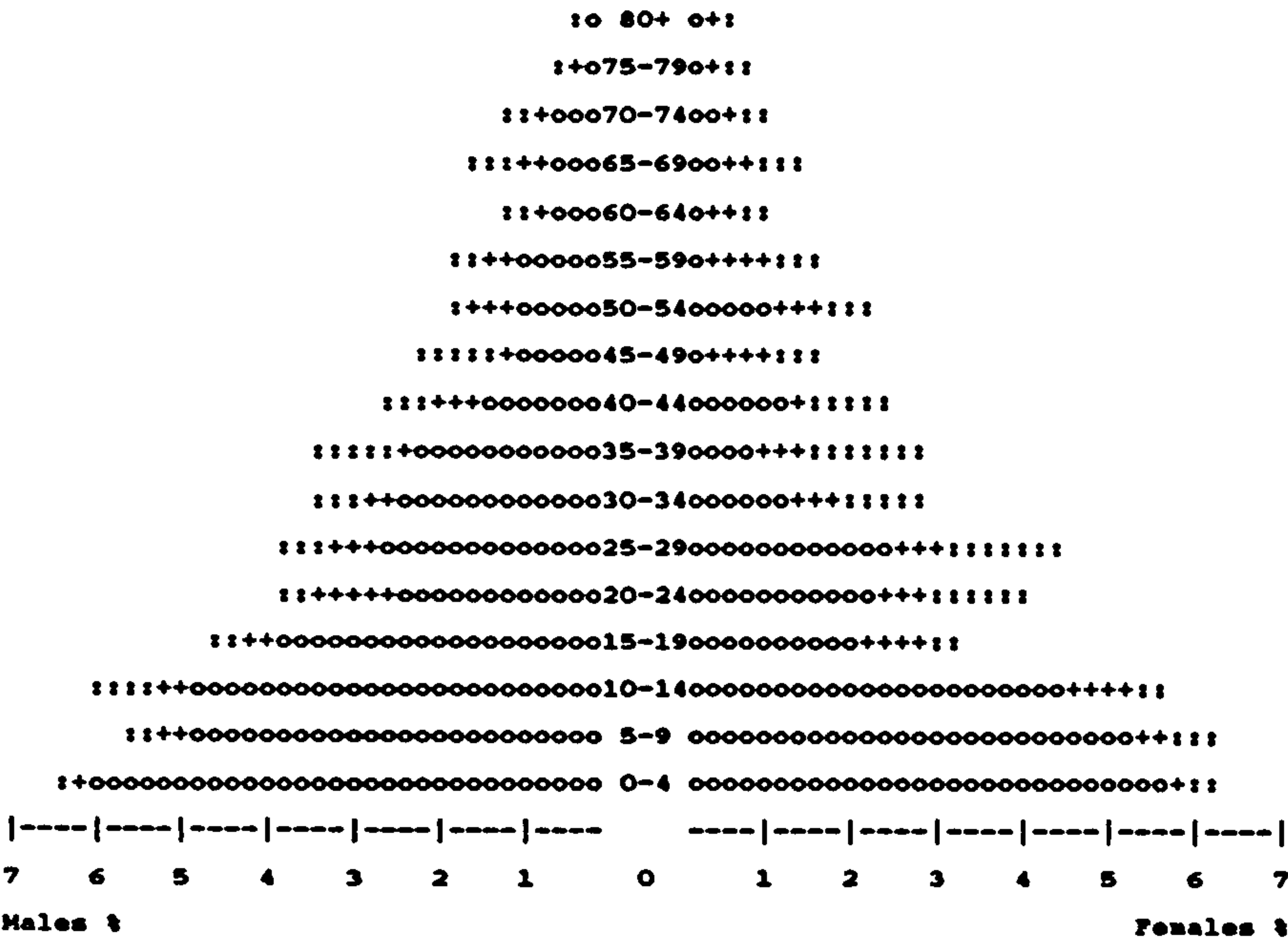
Table 131, Appendix 3, shows that, again, there was a rich variety of crafts and trades in the parish in the period 1851-1891. All the 11 most common rural trades in the area were present, with the exception of a builder in 1851. There were also such occupations as furrier, greengrocer, and tanner present for one or more census years. Table 52 shows that numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen were fairly steady with a slight increase in 1891, again as a result of the new census classifications of employment categories.

The proportion of multiple occupations followed a similar pattern to that of Much Hadham and showed a tendency to increased specialisation between 1871 and 1891.

Population Structures

This section contains a brief analysis of the population structures of Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden. The purpose of the analysis is to determine the extent to which the late-nineteenth century demographic characteristics of these two parishes are typical of rural areas generally.

FIGURE 16.--Population Pyramid, Much Hadham, 1851.



0=ative, +=local, :=distant

Population structures can shed light on the economic stability of the community: a high proportion of older inhabitants indicates net out-migration of individuals of working age, suggesting, in turn, economic stagnation in terms of lack of local employment opportunities. A marked

imbalance between the sexes might indicate a lack of local employment, or may be indicative of a newly-established community which provides employment primarily for one sex, for example, a mining community.¹⁵

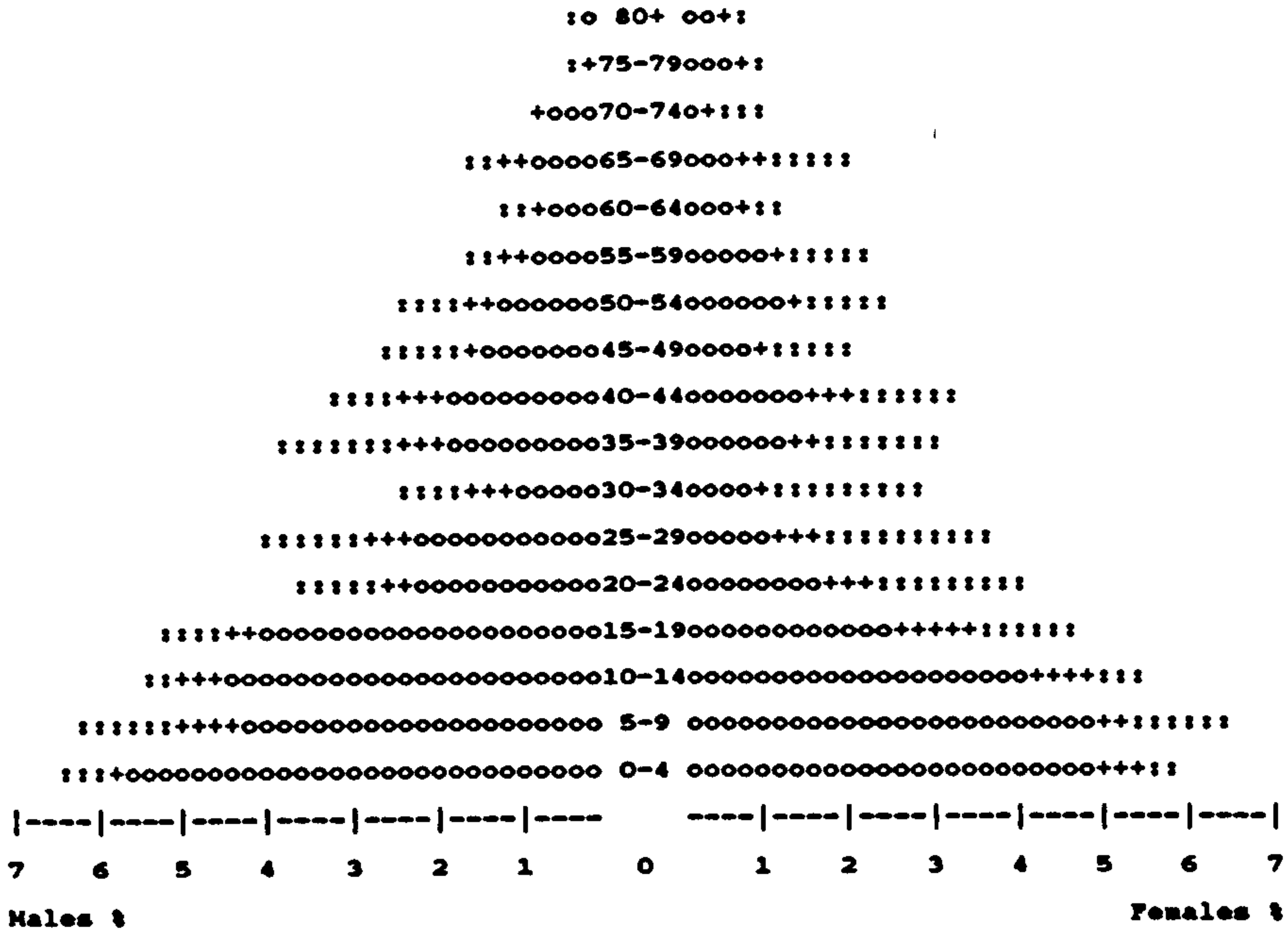
Age-sex pyramids for Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden for 1851 and 1891 are shown in Figures 16 to 19 and are comparable to a 'rural norm' for 1851.¹⁶

The data on which these population pyramids are based are presented in Tables 132 to 135 in Appendix 3. Birthplace statuses are based on the parishes of origin recorded in the Census Enumerators' Books for the years 1851 and 1891. The proportion of native-born, locals (born less than 5 miles away) and distant-born (born 5 or more 5 miles away) are represented.

¹⁵ P.N. Jones, Mines, migrants and residence in the South Wales steamcoal valleys: the Ogmore and Garw valleys in 1881, Hull University Press, 1987, 17.

¹⁶ Information supplied by Dr D.R. Mills. The 'rural norm' is an aggregate of data from 39 rural parishes in England, compiled by Dr D.R. Mills. The rural parishes comprised: seven small villages on Lincolnshire limestone: Burton, North and South Carlton, Scampton, Aisthorpe, Brattleby and Cammeringham; three large villages on Lincolnshire limestone: Ingham, Nettleham and Ropsley; Deeping Fen in Lincolnshire; North and South Collingham, Nottinghamshire; 11 small villages in North Buckinghamshire: Addington, Beachampton, Chackmore, Chetwode, Middle Clayton, Foscott, Hillesden, Lillingstone Dayrell, Radclive, Shalstone, and Thornton; Great and Little Horwood, and Thornborough in Buckinghamshire; Melbourn in Cambridgeshire; Barkway in Hertfordshire; Bentley in Hampshire; Shorne in Kent; Canon Pyon in Herefordshire; and seven Dorset villages: Langton, Worth Maltravers and Studland in the Isle of Purbeck; Okeford Fitzpaine, Childe Okeford, Stourton Caundle, and Hinton St. Mary in the Sturminster Newton area.

FIGURE 17.--Population Pyramid, Much Hadham, 1891.



0=native, +=local, :=distant

In 1851, Much Hadham's population structure was similar to the 'rural norm'. There was a higher proportion of natives of both sexes in Much Hadham than the 'rural norm' and this was more pronounced for males--as is to be expected for a parish in the low-wage area of England, despite its proximity to London. The age distribution was similar to the 'rural norm', although there were slightly higher proportions in the over-60s age group. However, the deviation was within the age distribution of the individual study parishes comprising the 'rural norm'.

The population structure of Much Hadham in 1891 showed similarities with the 1851 'rural norm'. There were higher proportions of distant females and lower proportions of distant males in Much Hadham. Again, the age distribution

was similar to the 'rural norm', although there were slightly higher proportions in Much Hadham in the over-45 age group and the under-15s age group.

St. Paul's Walden's population structure in 1851 was also fairly similar to Dr Mills' 'rural norm'. There were slightly more females than males in the parish. For both sexes, there was a higher proportion of natives than the 'rural norm'.

The parish's population structure in 1891 showed reasonably close agreement with the 'rural norm'. As in 1851, there were slightly more females than males. There were higher proportions of natives of both sexes in 1891 than in 1851. The age distribution was similar to the 'rural norm' and to Much Hadham, with slightly higher proportions of over-60s and under-15s in the parish.

The population structures of Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden were fairly typical of the rural parishes which made up Dr Mills' 'rural norm'. As we saw in Chapter 8, these communities had a long settlement history and this was reflected in their population structures. Although there were significant proportions of incomers in both parishes in 1851 and 1891, again this was similar to the 'rural norm'. Reasonable proportions of inhabitants of working age suggests that these parishes remained economically viable during the century, providing local employment for both sexes.

Continuity and Change

The extent to which villagers identified with their parish of residence appears to be related to the notion of a 'core' group within the village. Harris, in his study of twentieth-century Hennage, identified a core group within that village. This was made up of established families in the village. The core group promoted a set of behavioural norms to which the members of the core group were expected to adhere. Adherence to the group norms was a measure of the 'competence' of the individual group member.¹⁷

Twentieth-century Elmdon also possessed a core of 'real' village families, however, unlike Hennage, 'real Elmdoners' did not appear to establish group norms or influence interaction between members of the core group and outsiders. Rather, Strathern views the idea of 'real Elmdon' as a symbol.¹⁸

Strathern found that 'real Elmdoners' in the twentieth century were minor craftsmen and tradesmen or farm workers.¹⁹ In nineteenth-century Elmdon, there were some craft and trade families in the village who may have been members of a core group. However, she adds, other craft and trade households were

outsiders who came in as part of a constant stream of skilled or semi-skilled workers. They stayed a while, and then, unless they happened to marry into

¹⁷ C. Harris, Hennage: A social system in miniature, Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1974, 18-19.

¹⁸ M. Strathern, 'The village as an idea: constructs of village-ness in Elmdon, Essex' in Belonging, 267.

¹⁹ M. Strathern, Kinship at the core: An anthropology of Elmdon: a village in north-west Essex in the 1960s, Cambridge University Press, 1981, 183.

the village, they left again to be replaced by others....

Those who came in from outside were usually either transients, or else fitted into the prevailing system rather than acting as agents of change.²⁰

Either those incomers were related to resident villagers, or they did a job which residents of the village did not themselves expect to fill.²¹

Tables 53 and 54 below show the origins of the various occupational groups in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden in 1851 and 1891. Farm bailiffs have been classified as 'other', along with general labourers, because of the difficulty in classifying these as farmers or farm workers. In Much Hadham there were three farm bailiffs in 1851 and 1871, one in 1861 and two in 1881 and 1891. There were two farm bailiffs in St. Paul's Walden in each census year. 'Natives' were those born in the parish under consideration. 'Locals' were those born outside the parish but less than five miles away. 'Distant' denotes those born more than five miles away from the parish.²²

²⁰ J. Robin, Elmdon: Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village: 1861-1964, Cambridge University Press, 1980, 199.

²¹ Ibid.

²² The 'farmers' group includes farmers, graziers, market gardeners, cottagers and others credited with managing an agricultural or horticultural enterprise. Each farm had only one person who could be classified as 'farmer'. Any others designated 'farmer' in the same household were classified as 'farm workers'.

The category of 'farm workers' comprises all agricultural employees, including specific specialities such as shepherds, dairymen and women, farmers' sons and daughters and farm servants. In reality, all of these seem to have been living-in farm servants.

Similarly, the category shown as 'master craftsmen and tradesmen' includes masters as well as self-employed

TABLE 53.--Birthplace by occupation (Percentages), Much Hadham males and females.

	1851.....				1891.....			
	No.	Native	Local	Distant	No.	Native	Local	Distant
Farmers	25	52.0	24.0	24.0	19	26.3	10.5	63.3
Farm workers	226	74.3	15.9	9.7	202	72.8	15.3	11.9
Master craftsmen & tradesmen	25	64.0	8.0	28.0	39	53.8	10.3	35.9
Employee craftsmen & tradesmen	19	84.2	10.5	5.3	56	55.4	8.9	35.7
Unclassified craftsmen & tradesmen	46	52.2	15.2	32.6	2	0.0	50.0	50.0
Professional/ gentry	14	50.0	0.0	50.0	21	38.1	4.8	57.1
Servants	84	38.1	16.7	45.2	114	28.9	20.2	50.9
Straw-plaiting	-	-	-	-	3	0.0	33.3	67.7
Other	44	50.0	18.2	31.8	68	55.2	10.4	34.3
Total occupied	491	= 39.5% of total population			529	= 42.2% of total population		
No. persons with no recorded birthplace	8				5			

tradesmen and craftsmen and women, petty entrepreneurs not employing more than 5 persons.

'Employee craftsmen and tradesmen' includes all craftsmen and tradesmen and women identified as employees: journeymen, assistants and apprentices.

'Unclassified craftsmen and tradesmen' contains all tradesmen and craftsmen and women whose status as to master or employee was not stated in the Census Enumerators' Books and could not be identified from the trade directories.

'Professional/gentry' is the professional group, including teachers and governesses over the age of 21, entrepreneurs employing 6 or more persons who were not farmers or market gardeners, gentlemen and gentlewomen, fundholders, landed proprietors and service officers.

In the category listed as 'servants' is the servant group, all types were included except farm servants. When these were enumerated as working on an estate, outdoor estate workers and gardeners and grooms are included .

These categories are used by Dr D.R. Mills in compiling the 'rural norm'.

In Much Hadham, the occupational groups containing the highest proportion of natives were farm workers and employee tradesmen and craftsmen in both 1851 and 1891. This is consistent with Strathern's findings a century later regarding the occupations of what she refers to as 'real Elmdoners'.

TABLE 54.--Birthplace by occupation (Percentages), St. Paul's Walden males and females.

=====								
	1851.....				1891.....			
	No.	Native	Local	Distant	No.	Native	Local	Distant
<hr/>								
Farmers	16	37.5	0.0	62.5	14	28.9	7.1	64.3
Farm workers	228	64.9	24.1	11.0	154	79.4	14.8	5.8
Master craftsmen & tradesmen	22	27.3	22.7	50.0	35	40.0	14.3	45.7
Employee craftsmen & tradesmen	22	54.5	13.6	31.8	36	30.6	27.8	41.7
Unclassified craftsmen & tradesmen	32	59.4	6.3	34.4	2	50.0	50.0	0.0
Professional/ gentry	13	15.4	0.0	84.6	9	0.0	0.0	100.0
Servants	77	23.4	20.8	55.8	65	26.2	18.5	55.4
Straw-plaiting*	2	0.0	50.0	50.0	48	84.8	15.2	0.0
Other	19	26.3	10.5	63.2	31	69.0	10.3	20.7
<hr/>								
Total occupied	431 = 38.1% of total population				396 = 42.4% of total population			
<hr/>								
No. persons with no recorded birthplace	0				2			
<hr/>								

* Straw-plaiting was under-recorded by the 1851 census enumerator.

In St. Paul's Walden, generally speaking, the occupational categories which had the highest proportion of natives in both years were the lowest-status groups such as farm workers and straw-plaiters. This finding is in broad agreement with the results for Much Hadham.

Again, this reflects the same broad trends as did origins amongst 'real Elmdoners'. Some 'real Elmdoners' were farm workers who referred to past generations of kin as being craftsmen or tradesmen.

The sizeable proportions of non-natives in all occupational groups for both parishes and both years suggests there were constant movements of people to and from the parishes despite the net decrease in population between 1851 and 1891.

Strathern's findings for Elmdon indicate that every village has a core of long-established families: the immigrants were outsiders who do not become members of the core group, even if they had resided in the village for a comparatively long time. This reinforces the notion that, in reality, the village appeared to be made up of closed networks or groups. Individual or kin connections between villages do not seem to have functioned as links between villages: rather, it was the village community as a whole that became involved with other villages.²³

Returning to continuity of occupation, the mean age of each occupational group for each of the census years from 1851 to 1891 inclusive can be regarded as a crude indicator of the amount of 'new blood' entering specific occupational groups. If the mean age for an occupational group increases through time, this indicates that older members of the group

²³ Strathern 'The village as an idea,' 265-267.

are not being replaced by younger ones at retirement or following a death.

TABLE 55.--Mean ages by occupational group.

=====				
	Much Hadham		St. Paul's Walden	
	No.	Mean Age	No.	Mean Age
<hr/>				
Farmers				
1851	25	50.4	18	52.1
1861	19	53.1	10	55.0
1871	21	50.5	8	49.4
1881	19	51.9	11	46.0
1891	19	47.6	15	46.9
<hr/>				
Farm workers				
1851	131	45.0	120	41.2
1861	217	46.5	102	45.2
1871	219	45.1	98	46.3
1881	223	46.1	99	46.8
1891	202	44.1	78	46.6
<hr/>				
Master craftsmen & tradesmen				
1851	25	52.4	22	42.3
1861	27	54.6	26	48.4
1871	32	47.3	23	54.1
1881	25	43.6	26	48.5
1891	40	51.9	28	50.3
<hr/>				
Employee craftsmen & tradesmen & unspecified craftsmen & tradesmen				
1851	67	44.4	21	40.8
1861	67	46.5	18	37.2
1871	43	44.9	29	43.7
1881	74	46.9	19	43.2
1891	62	40.5	21	41.0
<hr/>				
All craftsmen & tradesmen				
1851	92	47.9	41	41.0
1861	94	50.0	43	43.5
1871	75	46.3	51	48.0
1881	99	45.6	45	46.2
1891	102	47.3	49	46.3
<hr/>				

Table 55 shows the mean ages of the household heads in each of the main occupational categories. With the exception of 'farmers' and 'farm workers' in St. Paul's Walden, the numbers in each group remained fairly steady throughout the period. Changes in numbers of farmers might be due to the fact that land was sometimes farmed from

opposite sides of parish boundaries. There had also been a shift in emphasis from arable to pastoral farming, particularly at St. Paul's Walden between 1851 and 1891, leading to a fall in demand for farmworkers.

Master craftsmen and tradesmen recorded higher mean ages than employee craftsmen and tradesmen, probably indicating that they had reached this higher status in a later stage of the life-cycle. The average age of master craftsmen and tradesmen was similar to that of farmers, conversely the mean ages of employee craftsmen and tradesmen were nearer to those of farm workers, although farm workers had slightly lower mean ages both in 1871 and in 1881. Again, this could be a feature that reflected a distinctive life-cycle stage. However, there are no distinctive trends between 1851 and 1891 for any of the occupational groups.

In order to sustain the numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen in both parishes, it is evident that, as individuals retired, died, or moved away, they were replaced, either by incomers, or from the pool of residents. We shall see in the following discussion the extent to which family members (wives or sons) carried on the enterprise after the death of the business (and family) head.

The extent of turnover amongst craftsmen and tradesmen has been analysed for each census year using nominal record linkage techniques. 'Appearances' are defined as those craftsmen and tradesmen recorded in one census, but not in the immediately preceding census. Journeymen, who

subsequently became masters or self-employed craftsmen or tradesmen, are not counted as new appearances. Conversely, 'disappearances' are defined as those craftsmen and tradesmen present in one census, but whose names are not recorded as practising a craft or trade in the immediately succeeding census. Thus, for example, retired craftsmen and tradesmen are counted as disappearances. No more than a mere one or two of these occurred between subsequent censuses.

Table 56 shows, for Much Hadham, the appearances, disappearances of master craftsmen and tradesmen and the numbers present in preceding decades. Master craftsmen and tradesmen were identified by description in the census or by comparison with listings from the closest surviving Kelly's directory.

For each decade in the period 1861-1891, between 44 and 67 per cent of master craftsmen and tradesmen were not present in the previous census year. This may turn out to be a slight over-estimate in that some females may have married and changed their surnames, making it impossible to link them, although this could only account for one or two persons each decade. Only one master tradesman, a beer retailer, was present throughout the period between 1851 and 1891. From 1871 between 16 and 31 per cent of master craftsmen are recorded as having been journeymen in the previous decade. Because most of the craftsmen and tradesmen in the employee/unclassified group were in the

TABLE 56.--Appearances and disappearances of craftsmen and tradesmen, Much Hadham. 243

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Total present in census year	25 100	27 100	32 100	25 100	40 100
Appearances in census year		18 67	14 44	15 60	20 50
Disappearances (intercensal)	16 64	19 70	26 81	15 60	
Linked from:					
1851					
Masters	-	9 33	2 6	1 4	1 3
Employee/Unclass.	-	0 0	4 13	1 4	0 0
1861					
Masters	-	-	8 25	3 12	2 5
Employee/Unclass.	-	-	10 31	1 4	3 8
1871					
Masters	-	-	-	6 24	4 10
Employee/Unclass.	-	-	-	4 16	5 13
1881					
Masters	-	-	-	-	10 25
Employee/Unclass.	-	-	-	-	10 25

TABLE 57.--Appearances and disappearances of craftsmen and tradesmen, St. Paul's Walden.

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Total present in census year	22 100	28 100	24 100	27 100	36 100
Appearances in census year		11 39	5 21	16 59	21 58
Disappearances (intercensal)	8 36	13 46	17 63	19 70	
Linked from:					
1851					
Masters	-	14 50	10 42	5 19	1 3
Employee/Unclass.	-	3 11	2 8	0 0	0 0
1861					
Masters	-	-	15 63	6 22	1 3
Employee/Unclass.	-	-	4 17	2 7	0 0
1871					
Masters	-	-	-	7 26	1 3
Employee/Unclass.	-	-	-	4 15	3 8
1881					
Masters	-	-	-	-	8 22
Employee/Unclass.	-	-	-	-	7 19

unclassified category, this figure should be treated with caution.

Table 57 shows, for St. Paul's Walden, the result of nominal record linkage of craftsmen and tradesmen from the census enumerators' books for 1851 to 1891 inclusive. There was only one person, a builder, who was present in each decade. More than half of the master craftsmen and tradesmen present in 1881 and 1891 were not present in the preceding decade. Only small proportions of journeyman or undefined craftsmen and tradesmen became master craftsmen in their respective parishes during the period under consideration. The proportions are significantly lower than in Much Hadham. Thus the numbers of master craftsmen and tradesmen were maintained by newcomers, rather than progression from the ranks of the already present pool of journeymen.

There were substantial comings and goings of craftsmen and tradesmen to and from both parishes during the period. St. Paul's Walden, which experienced a greater population decline than Much Hadham in 1871-1891, saw a marked increase in the frequency of appearances and disappearances after 1871, indicating increased mobility amongst craftsmen and tradesmen. It is possible that, as economic conditions worsened, individual craftsmen and tradesmen moved from parish to parish in their search for a more profitable position.

Another indicator of the economic opportunities available to craftsmen and tradesmen is the extent to which their children followed fathers in the same occupation. The

census enumerators' books do not indicate whether children resident in the same household as the master or self-employed craftsmen or tradesmen, having the same occupation as the household head, were also employed by the household head. However, it is reasonable to assume that, usually, this was the case.

Table 58 summarises, for the parishes of Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden combined, the continuity of the family crafts and trades among those children whose occupations are recorded. These must be regarded as minimal figures because the census enumerators did not record all occupations, especially those of women, young and old. Approximately half of all the children seem to have followed the same trade or craft as the father. Conversely, as the table shows, over one-third were engaged in a different craft or trade, whilst 16 per cent returned other occupations, in particular, in farming or domestic service.

TABLE 58.--Proportion of children engaged in same trade or craft as father, for Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden combined, 1851-1891.

Number of censuses	Same Trade		Different Trade		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	1	50	1	50	0	0	2	100
2	13	62	6	29	2	10	21	101
3	14	45	10	32	7	23	31	100
4	11	42	9	35	6	23	26	100
5	32	48	25	38	9	14	66	100
Total	71	49	51	35	24	16	146	100

Table 59 shows that the proportions were similar for each parish.

TABLE 59.--Proportion of children engaged in same trade or craft as father, 1851-1891.

	Same		Different		Other		Total	
	Trade		Trade					
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Much Hadham	40	51	21	27	17	22	78	100
St. Paul's Walden	31	46	30	44	7	10	68	100

Tables 136 and 137 in Appendix 3 contain more detailed data on which both Tables 58 and 59 are based.

The families who were only recorded in one census tended to have younger persons as the household head, the great majority of the children being under thirteen years of age. This pattern occurs in both parishes. But, the majority of these households returned no co-residing children. Evidently, the shortness of stay of these households is a reflection of particular early life-cycle stages.

In marked contrast, those families who were present for more than one census recorded greater variety in their life-cycle stage characteristics. These families returned many more children as engaged in an occupation.

Significantly more craft and trade families (between one quarter and one half of families) were present for only one census than in any of the other occupational groups. The proportions are roughly the same in each parish. Table 60 summarises the numbers and proportions of families present between one and five successive censuses. More than half of the craft and trade families in each parish were present for just one or two censuses only.

The figures confirm that there was considerable mobility among craft and trade families, particularly among those with no children (or with very young children). All the occupations are represented among the short stayers. There does not seem to have been any specific occupational bias among stayers and leavers.

TABLE 60.--Numbers and proportions of craft and trade families present, 1851-1891.

Number of censuses	Much Hadham		St. Paul's Walden		Combined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	32	34	22	28	54	31
2	17	18	19	24	36	21
3	15	16	11	14	26	15
4	12	13	9	11	21	12
5	17	18	18	23	35	20
Total	93	99	79	100	172	99

The analysis has been taken further to examine the continuity of craft and trade households according to the ages of the heads of households (Table 61). For each age band, the following are set out: (1) households whose members all stayed in the parish for two adjacent censuses; (2) households where some members left the parish between two adjacent censuses (the mixed group), and (3) households where all members left the parish. The presentation is similar to that of Schurer.²⁴ The parish registers were consulted to determine those who had died and those who had married and left the parish during the study period. If a

²⁴ K. Schurer, 'The role of the family in the process of migration' in C.G. Pooley and I.D. Whyte, Migrants, emigrants and immigrants: a social history of migration, Routledge, 1991, 106-142.

member of the household died in the parish he or she was counted as staying in the parish.

TABLE 61.--Continuity of craft and trade households in age cohorts, 1851-1891.

Age	Much Hadham						St. Paul's Walden					
	Census			Census			Census			Census		
	Stay	Mixed	Go	Stay	Mixed	Go	Stay	Mixed	Go	Stay	Mixed	Go
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1851-1861												
< 25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
25-34	1	33	1	33	1	33	1	33	1	33	1	33
35-44	4	67	1	17	1	17	5	50	3	30	2	20
45-54	3	50	3	50	0	0	4	50	3	38	1	13
55-64	1	25	3	75	0	0	1	50	1	50	0	0
65+	5	83	1	17	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0
Total	14	56	9	36	2	8	11	44	9	36	5	20
1861-1871												
< 25	0	0	1	50	1	50	0	0	0	0	0	0
25-34	2	67	0	0	1	33	3	43	2	29	2	29
35-44	3	60	2	40	0	0	2	40	2	40	1	20
45-54	3	43	2	29	2	29	6	43	5	36	3	21
55-64	4	57	2	29	1	14	4	67	2	33	0	0
65+	7	78	2	22	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0
Total	19	58	9	27	5	15	16	48	11	33	6	18
1871-1881												
< 25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25-34	0	0	1	17	5	83	4	80	0	0	1	20
35-44	3	43	1	14	3	43	1	11	5	56	3	33
45-54	2	25	5	63	1	13	1	17	3	50	2	33
55-64	0	0	4	100	0	0	3	33	5	56	1	11
65+	2	25	5	63	1	13	2	50	2	50	0	0
Total	7	21	16	48	10	30	11	33	15	45	7	21
1881-1891												
< 25	0	0	0	0	3	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
25-34	5	63	1	13	2	25	2	50	1	25	1	25
35-44	0	0	2	50	2	50	4	40	4	40	2	20
45-54	0	0	3	60	2	40	1	13	4	50	3	38
55-64	4	57	3	43	0	0	1	25	3	75	0	0
65+	2	67	1	33	0	0	4	67	1	17	1	17
Total	11	37	10	33	9	30	12	38	13	41	7	22

Comparing the figures for the parishes with Schurer's for craft and trade families in Hatfield (Essex) and Dengie for 1861-71²⁵, there was a higher proportion of stayers in

²⁵ Ibid., 131, 132.

most age groups in both Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden than in Hatfield and Dengie. In Hatfield and Dengie the highest proportion of stayers was in the 25-34 age group, while in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden the highest proportion of stayers was in the 65+ age group.

Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden returned highest proportions in the 'mixed' and 'stayers' groups, resembling Dengie more closely than Hatfield.

In the period 1871-81, the proportion of stayers in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden declined significantly. The 35-44 and 25-34 age groups had the highest proportion of stayers in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden respectively. However, the absolute numbers are too small to enable valid conclusions to be drawn. The largest category in both parishes was the mixed group. There was a higher proportion of stayers than leavers in St. Paul's Walden while the opposite was true of Much Hadham. As we saw in Chapter 8, Much Hadham was situated in a more economically depressed area than St. Paul's Walden, and this may partially explain the high proportion of craft and trade households leaving the parish. The trends exhibited in the two parishes were broadly similar to those exhibited in Hatfield and Dengie.²⁶

²⁶ Hatfield and Dengie were groups of Essex parishes that also experienced differing economic development during the nineteenth century. Dengie experienced economic stagnation from the 1870s whilst Hatfield was better able to adapt to changing economic opportunities. However, there were no significant differences in the movements of craft and trade families between the two groups of parishes.

The proportion of stayers increased in 1881-91 in both Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden but was not as high in either parish as in 1851-61 and 1861-71. The proportion of leavers in St. Paul's Walden increased markedly between 1861-71 and 1871-81, while the proportion of stayers declined markedly in the same period. The proportion of leavers in Much Hadham was fairly steady throughout the study period. The mixed group increased in both parishes in 1871-81 and declined slightly in 1881-91.

This indicates that there was more movement of craft and trade families from the 1870s onwards than for the earlier decades. Movement of a craft or trade family seemed to be related to life-cycle characteristics. Occupation did not appear to be a determinant of movement in that movements of craft and trade families occurred among all craft and trade occupations. Craftsmen and tradesmen experienced reduced economic opportunities in both parishes as the nineteenth century progressed. However, this did not prevent newcomers from entering village-based trades, although the majority of craft and trade families did not remain in the parishes for more than two decennial censuses. There was increased movement of craft and trade families or members of such families towards the end of the century. Families and individuals may have moved in search of economic opportunities, although overall numbers of self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen were maintained in both parishes throughout the period.

Groups and Perceptions

Wright has postulated that different members of the community have different perceptions of the rural community.²⁷ Cohen asserts that people's awareness of culture is 'central to the ways in which people express their attachment to a locality.'²⁸ As Strathern showed, this was exemplified in the attitudes of Elmdoners.

In Elmdon, there was a distinction between 'villagers' or 'real Elmdon' people and others who were not 'real Elmdon'. The latter were viewed as 'strangers'.²⁹ In Elmdon in the 1960s, more importance was placed by the members of the core group on being 'real Elmdon' than on ways of speaking or their knowledge of local customs and way of life. 'Real Elmdoners' were, in the main, agricultural labourers, although, as Strathern has carefully pointed out, occupation was no criteria for 'real Elmdonness'. This group had no landowning interest, and professed to have no influence in terms of community leadership. According to whether they were members of the core group or incomers, twentieth-century residents had different perceptions of the community of Elmdon. Incomers saw 'community' as manifest by all the people in the village joining in an activity. They viewed 'the whole village as a community with the 'real Elmdoners' as its special representatives and holders of tradition.' On the other hand, the 'real Elmdoners' 'see the community as constituting different interest groups.'

²⁷ Wright, 'Image and analysis,' 214.

²⁸ A.P. Cohen, Belonging, 3.

²⁹ Strathern, 'The village as an idea,' 248, 249.

'Real Elmdoners' claimed priority over the allocation of village assets, in particular, local jobs and rented housing, especially council housing.³⁰

In the nineteenth century there also seem to have been distinctive subgroups within the rural community, although these were different in kind from 'real Elmdoners' and 'incomers'. According to Mills, the village community consisted of three major subgroups, 'the landless proletariat, and the large farmers with the peasantry in between.'³¹ As in the case of twentieth-century 'real Elmdoners', the landless farm worker (or cottager) of the nineteenth century exerted very little power and influence in the rural community. In contrast, the peasantry, which included the small self-employed or master craftsmen and tradesmen, had much more. Some craftsmen and tradesmen were prominent members of local vestry meetings. Moreover, often, craftsmen and tradesmen could act as agents of change in that they helped to introduce new ideas into the community:

The workshop of the craftsman has long been the focus for constructive ideas in our villages. The basket-maker, the saddler, the wheelwright, the shoemaker (or the cobbler) were key-men with ideas of their own as subjects far removed from the occupations which caused them to look at life with the sanity of men not overpowered by greed or crushed under any

³⁰ Wright, 'Image and analysis,' 213.

³¹ D.R. Mills, 'The nineteenth-century peasantry of Melbourn, Cambridgeshire' in Land, Kinship and Life-cycle, R.M. Smith, ed., Cambridge University Press, 1985, 481-518, 517. Mills defined the peasant as a rural entrepreneur with an interest in the land.

There is much convincing evidence that nineteenth-century social protest was more likely to arise in villages with a well-developed craft and trade sector than elsewhere. For example, during the 'Captain Swing riots' of the early 1830s, craftsmen and tradesmen were spreaders within their own villages of news of riots.³³ Moreover, areas where craftsmen were involved were more likely to experience protests earlier.³⁴ Interestingly, although Hertfordshire parishes recorded vigorous craft and trade sectors, the 'Swing riots' did not affect the county, although they occurred in Shefford in Bedfordshire, a short distance away from Ashwell in north Hertfordshire. This may have been owing to a heavy militia presence in the county.

But, the pattern of landownership within the parish, particularly the characteristics of open and closed parishes, was a much more fundamental influence on the structure and development of the village community. 'The distinction between open and closed is a model with predictive powers. The prediction is that marked differences in the social distribution of land ownership will give rise to marked differences in population density,

³² E.W. Martin, The secret people: English village life after 1750, London, Phoenix House Ltd., 1954, 231.

³³ A. Charlesworth, Social protest in a rural community: the spatial diffusion of the Captain Swing disturbances of 1830-1831, Historical Geography Research Series No. 1, October 1979, 3.

³⁴ Ibid., 45.

occupations and other features of rural economy and society.³⁵

The open/closed model of village communities has been subject to further analysis and refinement, especially with regard to the role of the large landowner, found typically in villages exhibiting closed characteristics. A large landowner who was an absentee was less likely to exert the same influence in the village or parish as a substantial resident estate holder. His influence also decreased with increasing distance from his estate.³⁶ The landowner's exercise of power was also dependent on such factors as his own particular interests in the community, religious and political persuasion, his knowledge and level of involvement in agriculture.³⁷ In closed villages the landowner was able to exercise an all-embracing social control, particularly in relation to the provision of housing. As we shall see in Chapter 11, Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden parishes exhibited many of the characteristics of open parishes.

Because they were employers, the large tenant farmers could also exert considerable influence in the rural community.³⁸ The accommodation of farm workers contributed significantly to the endowment of particular characteristics

³⁵ D.R. Mills, Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Croom Helm, 1980, 78-9.

³⁶ C. Rawding, 'Society and place in nineteenth-century Lincolnshire' in Rural History, 1992, Vol. 3, 1, 59-85, 60.

³⁷ B. Short, 'The evolution of contrasting communities within rural England' in The English rural community, 19-43, 40.

³⁸ Rawding, 'Society and place,' 63.

to the community. Areas where live-in farm servants were common gave rise to distinctive types of community in contrast to areas where weekly engagement was the common practice.³⁹

TABLE 62.--Mean household size, main occupational groups, 1851-1891.

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Much Hadham					
Farmers	6.20	5.37	5.35	5.11	5.00
Farm workers	4.53	4.38	4.62	4.64	4.87
Master craftsmen & tradesmen	4.83	6.64	5.23	5.68	5.22
Employee craftsmen & tradesmen & unclassified craftsmen & tradesmen	4.57	4.42	3.67	3.90	4.86
All craftsmen & tradesmen	4.69	5.38	4.59	4.59	5.07
St. Paul's Walden					
Farmers	6.61	7.80	6.00	6.91	6.00
Farm workers	4.86	4.77	5.19	4.74	4.76
Master craftsmen & tradesmen	5.50	5.16	5.86	5.04	4.25
Employee craftsmen & tradesmen & unclassified craftsmen & tradesmen	4.48	4.50	4.79	4.16	4.67
All craftsmen & tradesmen	4.98	4.88	5.25	4.67	4.43

The mean household size of each of the main occupational groups in both parishes based on the census enumerators' books, for 1851 and 1891 is shown in Table 62. No consistent differences occur between any of the occupational groups, although in St. Paul's Walden, farmer households tended to be larger than others. This could be explained by the presence of small numbers of live-in

³⁹ A. Howkins, 'The English farm labourer in the nineteenth century: farm, family, community' in English rural communities, 85-104, 89.

servants (Table 63); and it should be noted that there were also small numbers of live-in servants in farming households in Much Hadham. Master craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham tended to have household sizes comparable to those of farmers (due probably to the enumeration of apprentices, assistants and live-in servants).

The majority of female servants enumerated by the census as living in farming households were domestic servants. Only a minority of farming households had male live-in servants in both parishes for both 1851 and 1891. Male live-in servants on farms decreased in both parishes between 1851 and 1891. The great majority of farm workers are recorded as living in their own separate households.

TABLE 63.--Distribution of live-in servants in farming households, 1851 and 1891.
The numbers of farms containing male and female servants are shown without parentheses; the numbers of farms containing male servants only are shown in parentheses.

Number of servants	Number of farming households			
	Much Hadham		St. Paul's Walden	
	1851	1891	1851	1891
0	8 (12)	12 (18)	5 (7)	7 (10)
1	6 (6)	5 (1)	4 (2)	2 (3)
2	4 (5)	1 (0)	0 (4)	1 (2)
3	4 (0)	1 (0)	2 (2)	4 (0)
4	1 (1)	0 (0)	3 (0)	1 (0)
5	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
6	1 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)

Because they lived in their own households, farm workers were probably well integrated into the local village community in Hertfordshire. It seems that many farm-worker households would have been long-established in the village and that they tended to stay with one employer on a long-

term basis. Sons often followed their fathers onto the same farm and family ties of this type remained important.⁴⁰ Certainly, this appeared to be the case in rural Hertfordshire. Larger villages, such as Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden, were more likely to be 'open' communities: these had evolved a much greater variety of social groups than in small hamlets and scattered settlements.⁴¹

Although farm labourers as a group were landless, and, it is generally believed, exercised little influence in the rural community, Strathern found that in twentieth-century Elmdon, there was a bargaining relationship between landlord and worker.⁴² As a group, the farm workers endowed a distinctive credence to the landlord's social status and position. Deference was given in return for paternalistic concern for their personal welfare. This suggests that the farm workers were very much aware of their own identity as a group. In contrast, Martin has shown that, at Okehampton, farm workers were unaware of any sense of group solidarity. He argues for the existence of a sort of caste system, based on kinship and ancestry, and, in the case of the gentry, inheritance, 'the actual and knowable part of the social rituals--which was not always resented by the workers because they did not know of its existence.'⁴³ It seems very likely that twentieth-century farm workers, as

⁴⁰ Ibid., 87-8, 96.

⁴¹ Charlesworth, Social protest, 36.

⁴² Strathern, 'The village as an idea,' 251.

⁴³ E.W. Martin, The shearers and the shorn: A study of life in a Devon community, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, 97.

exemplified in the 'real Elmdoners' were much more aware of their social position than their nineteenth-century counterparts.⁴⁴

Martin's assessment of the status of the peasantry is at variance with that of Mills. Martin states that 'the peasant style of life led to economic subservience.'⁴⁵ Mills, on the other hand, places the peasantry in a separate socio-economic group within the rural community, with a correspondingly higher social status.⁴⁶ Martin, like most observers, appears to equate the peasantry directly with the farm workers. On the other hand, Mills places the group as a whole between on the one hand, the landless farm workers and on the other, the large farmers and landowners. In other words, according to Mills, there existed a distinctive rural middle class, which he termed 'the rural peasantry'.

It is of considerable significance that Mills assigns the small master and self-employed rural craftsmen and tradesmen to this peasantry group within the rural community. Mills' peasantry formed a distinctive socio-economic group within open villages. Melbourn in

⁴⁴ The 'Swing riots' are evidence that farm workers tried, unsuccessfully to exert some bargaining influence through violence and force of numbers, but this was on a large scale than that of the village community. Bargaining between farm workers and farmers within the village community generally took the form of working agreements between individual farmers and individual farm workers or groups of farm workers. Discontent in Hertfordshire was expressed through isolated incidents of incendiarism and cattle maiming.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ D.R. Mills, Lord and Peasant, 43.

Cambridgeshire constituted 'a good example of an open or peasant village containing a well-developed rural middle-class, many of them nonconformist.'⁴⁷ In contrast, in closed villages, the numbers of tradesmen and craftsmen were disproportionately low.⁴⁸

The rural community was also shaped by the interaction of its varied social and economic subgroups. Some of these had more in common with each other than others.

Certain status and occupational groups can be said to have formed 'clusters' or 'constellations' in which the social distance between their members, though real, was less deep and less significant than that which separated them from other social groups.⁴⁹

Thus, smallholding husbandmen were closer in social status terms, to cottagers than to substantial tenant farmers and yeomen. In contrast, the yeoman had more in common with the lesser gentry. Mills believes that the nineteenth-century peasantry had more in common with small farmers than with labourers: indeed, as Mills pointed out: 'rural cultivators and rural non-cultivators were part of the same system with a common set of attitudes.'⁵⁰

⁴⁷ D.R. Mills, 'The quality of life in Melbourn, Cambridgeshire, in the period 1800-1850' in International Review of Social History, Vol. 23, 1978, Part 3, 382-404, 388.

⁴⁸ D.R. Mills, 'The nineteenth-century peasantry of Melbourn, Cambridgeshire,' 484.

⁴⁹ K. Wrightson, 'The social order of Early Modern England: Three approaches' in The world we have gained: Histories of population and social structure, L. Bonfield, R.M. Smith and K. Wrightson, eds., Basil Blackwell, 1986, 190.

⁵⁰ D.R. Mills, Lord and peasant, 43.

The choice of marriage partner and the specific occupation in which sons were placed can be taken as indicators of the closeness or otherwise of particular social groups within the rural community.⁵¹ The diagrams below provide details which enable us to analyse these decisions in the context of craft and trade families resident in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden from 1851 to 1891. The occupations taken up by the children of master and self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen have been established from the census enumerators' books, applying by nominal record linkage to successive censuses. Also indicated are the specific occupations of the household head but this is shown only when changes occurred over time. Since the decennial census was used to reconstruct both the households and relationships, these should not be regarded as complete family reconstitutions.⁵²

⁵¹ V.B. Elliot, Mobility and marriage, Part 1, Chapters 2-4, cited in 'The social order of early modern England: Three approaches' by Keith Wrightson in The world we have gained, 190.

⁵² Occupations are not shown for children who took up occupations after the 1891 census.

FIGURE 20.--Halestrap family, Much Hadham.

George Halestrap
1851 age 3
1861 farmer's son
1871 joiner
1881 builder = Mary Ann
1891 master builder

FIGURE 21.--Hassall family, Much Hadham.

James Hassall = Mary Ann	
1851 master carpenter/undertaker	
1861 carpenter	
1881 carpenter = Martha	
died 1887	

Alfred	William Henry
1851 journeyman carpenter	1851 gunsmith/whitesmith
1881 carpenter = Martha	
1891 widow	Walter Willis
	1851 writing clerk

FIGURE 22.--Lane family, Much Hadham.

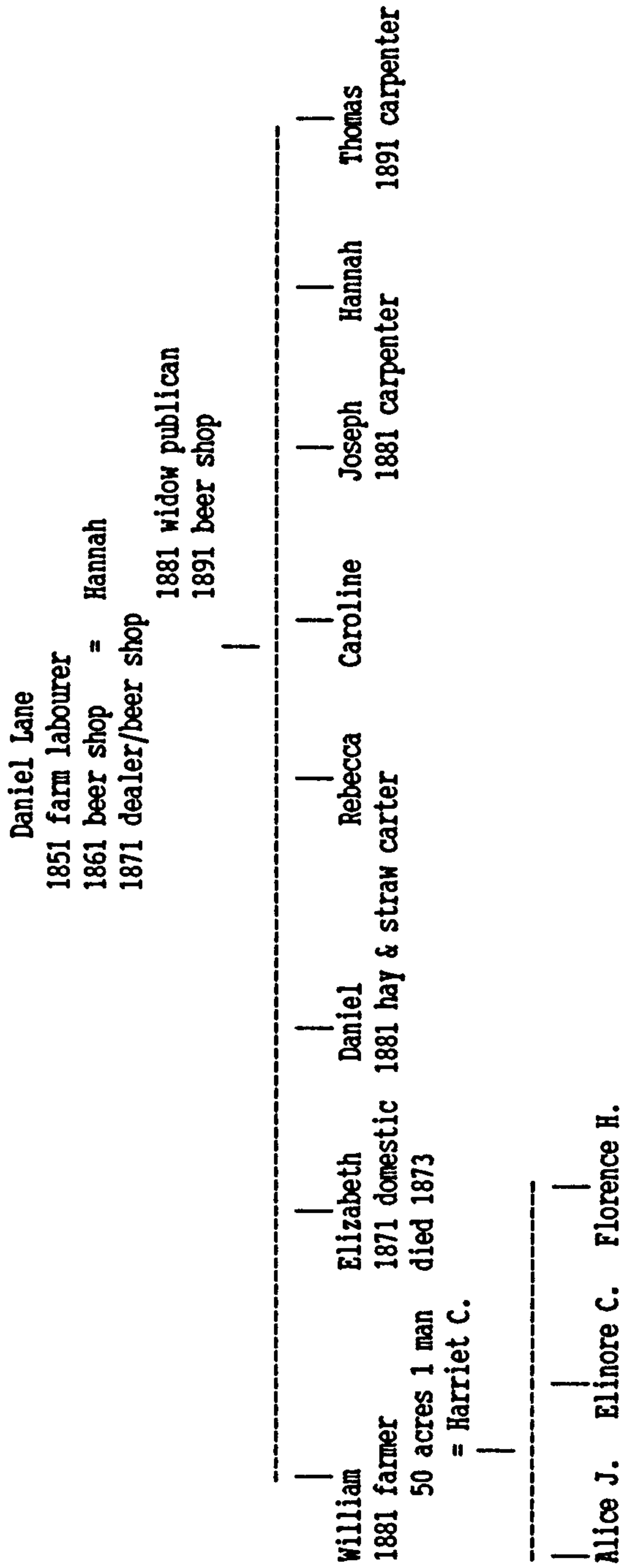


FIGURE 23.--Page family, Much Hadham.

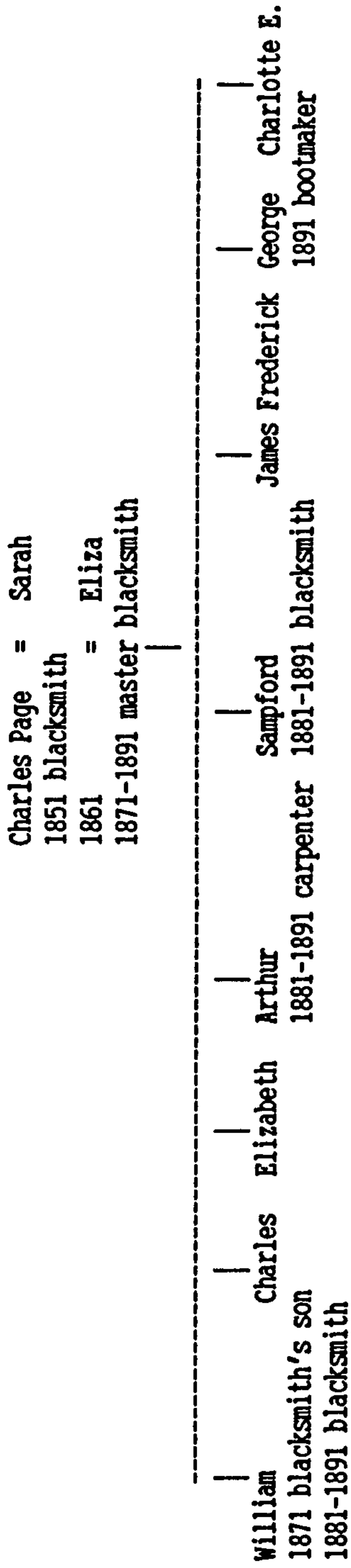


FIGURE 26.---Saunders family, Much Hadham.

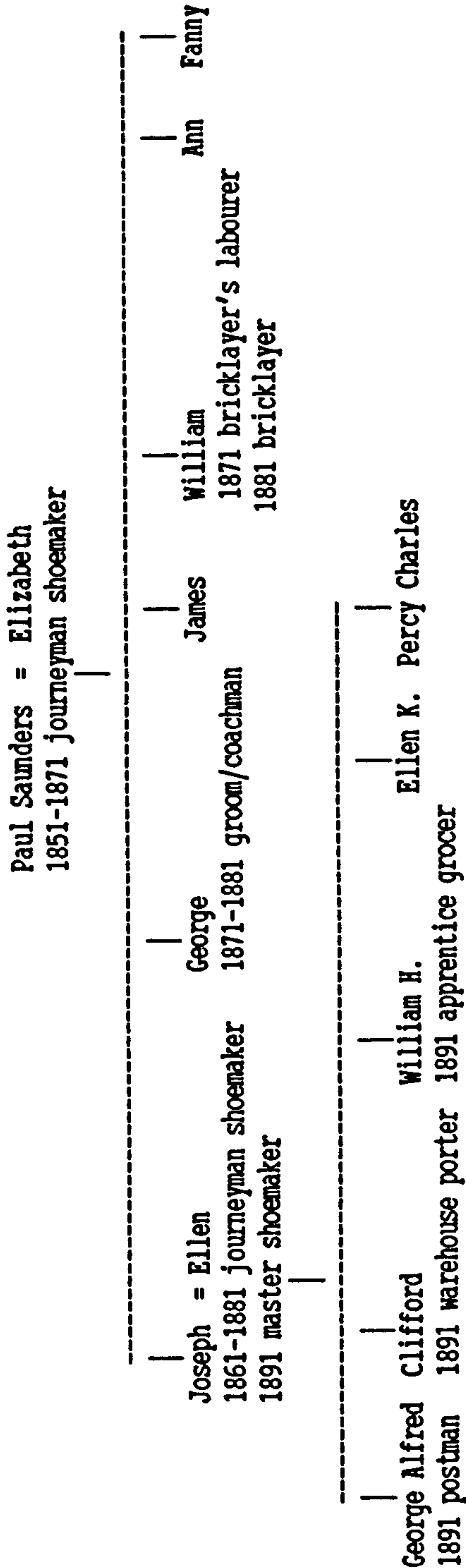


FIGURE 27.--Smith family, Much Hadham.

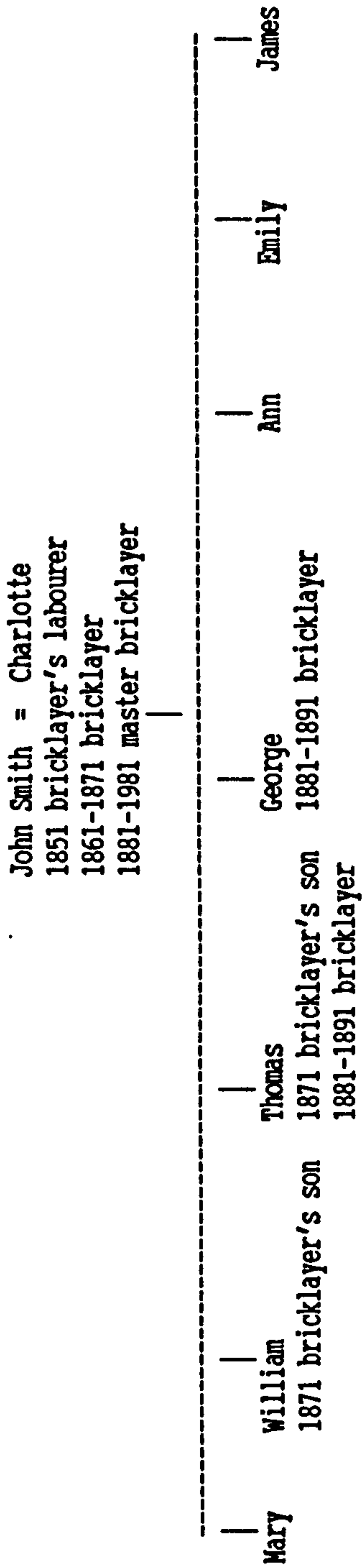


FIGURE 28.--Stracey family, Much Hadham

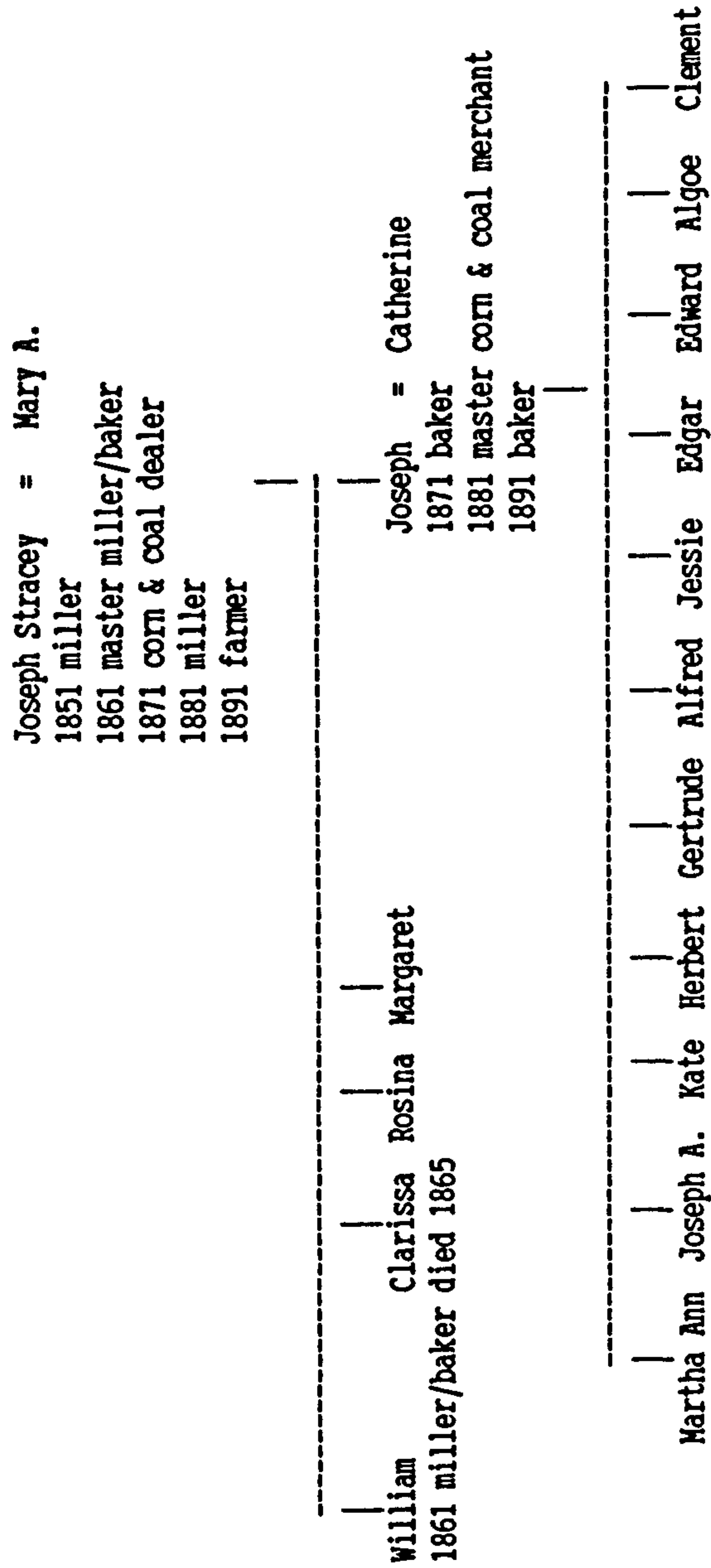


FIGURE 29. --Thurgood family, Much Hadham (1).

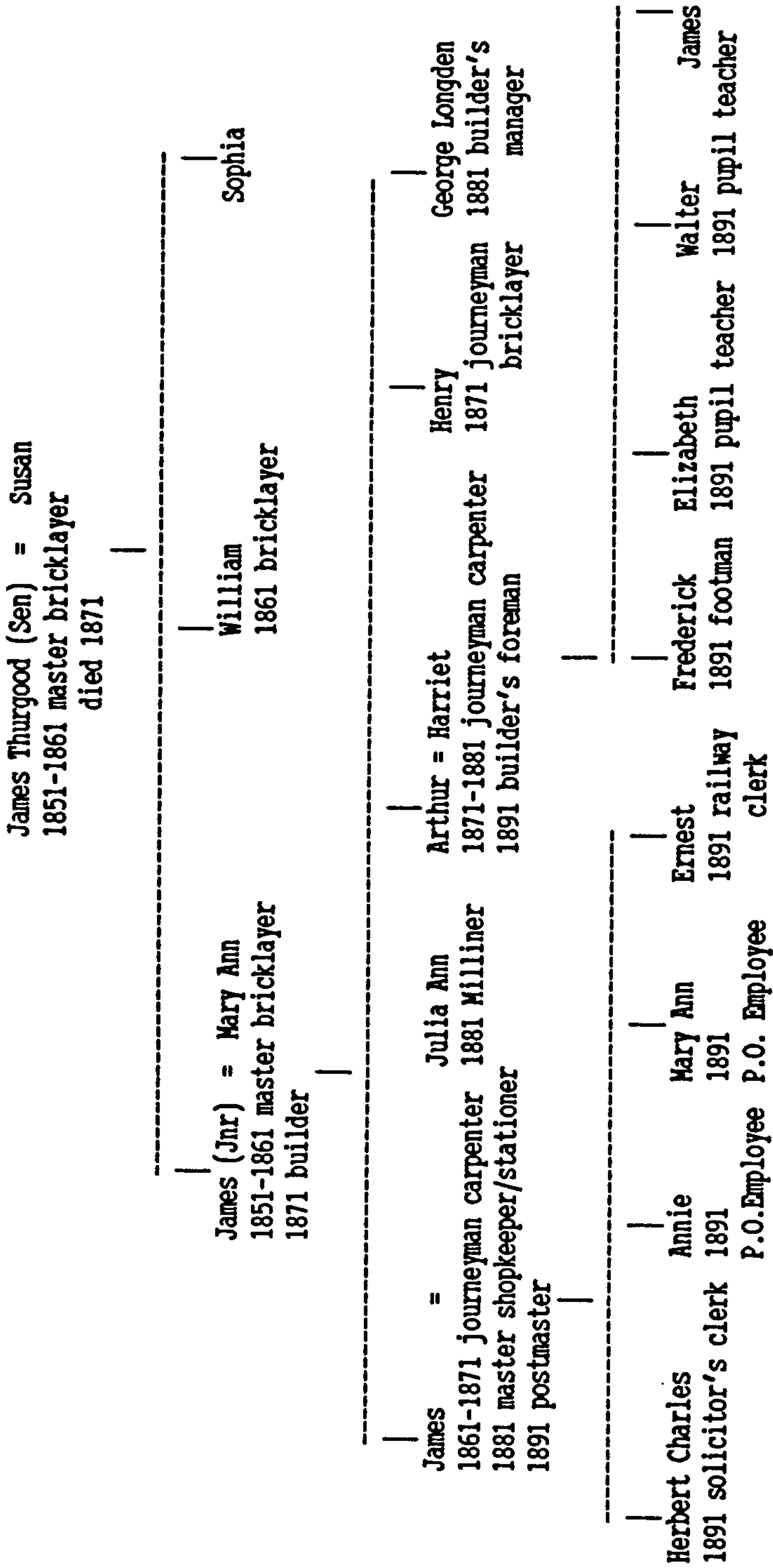


FIGURE 30.--Thurgood family, Much Hadham (2).

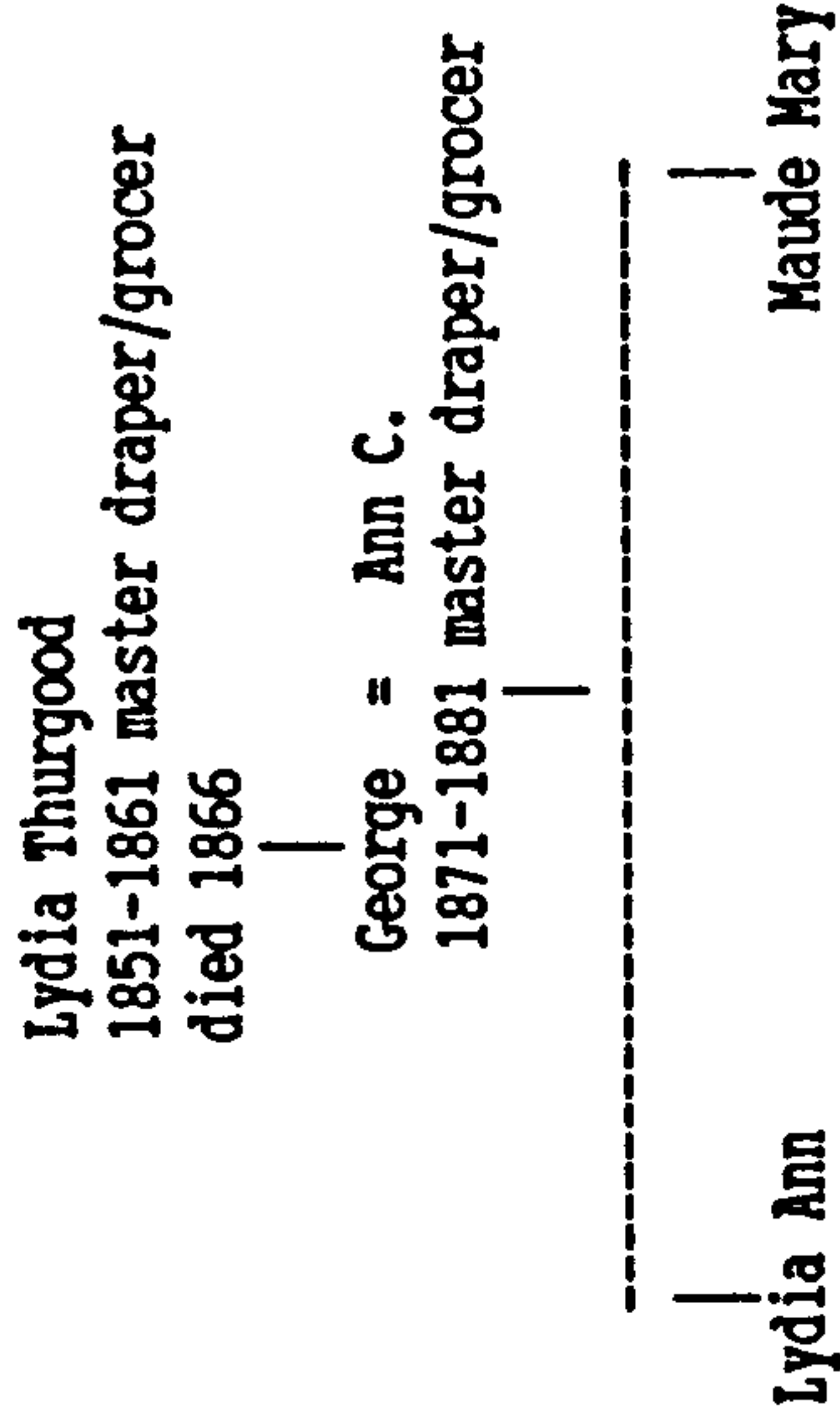


FIGURE 31.--Topcott family, Much Hadham.

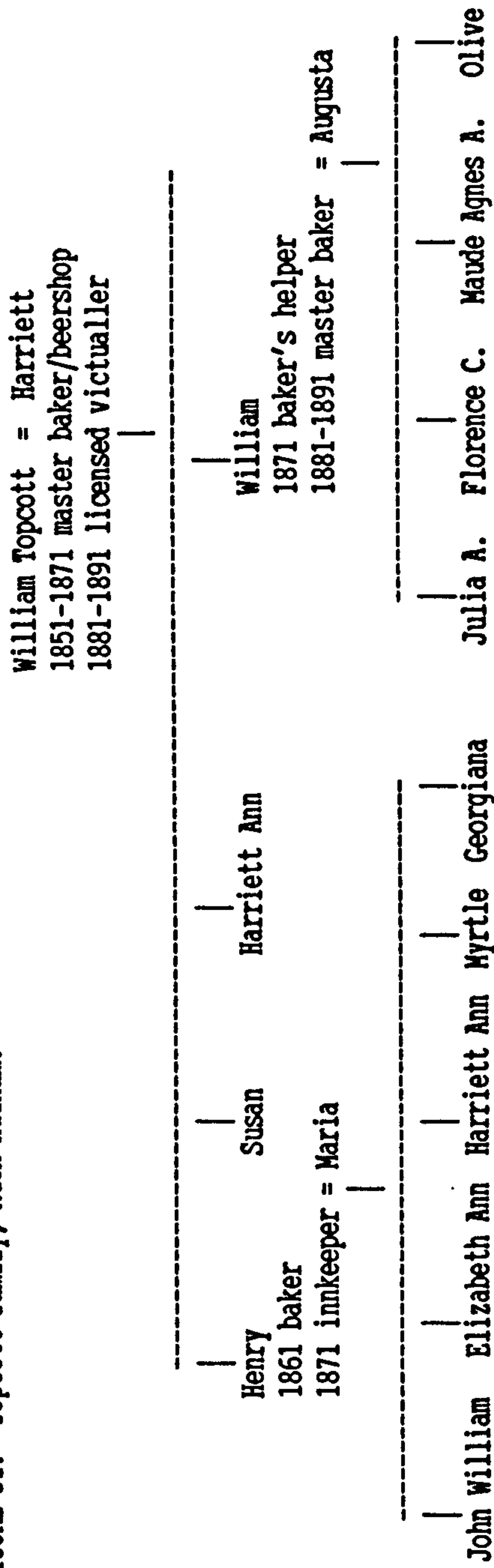


FIGURE 32.--Ufford family, Much Hadham.

John Ufford = Eliza
1851-71 tailor
1881-1891 master tailor

FIGURE 33.--Archer family, St. Paul's Walden.

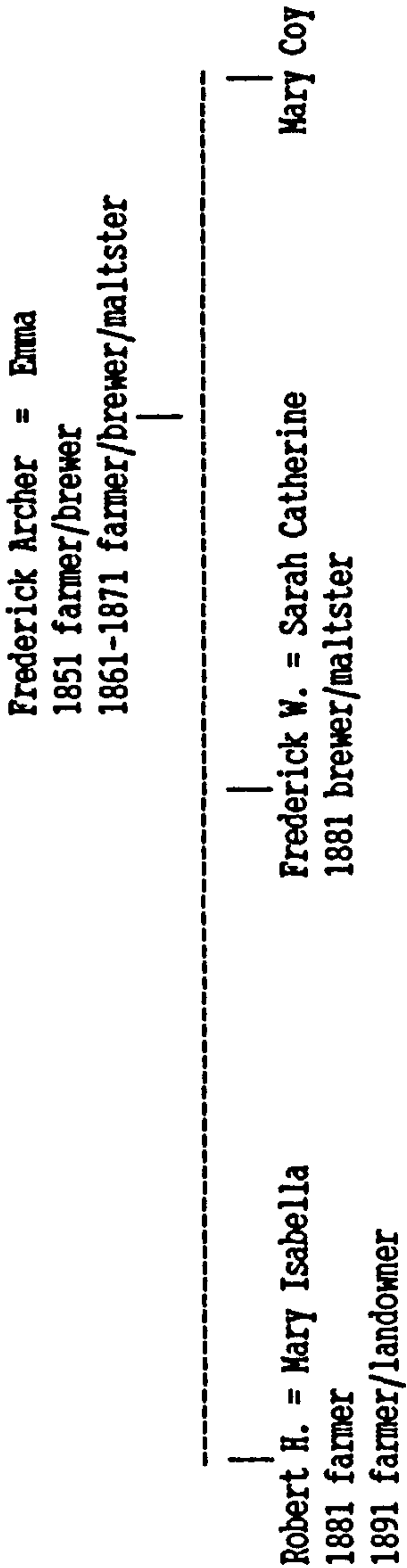


FIGURE 34.--Barber/Thrusnell family, St. Paul's Walden.

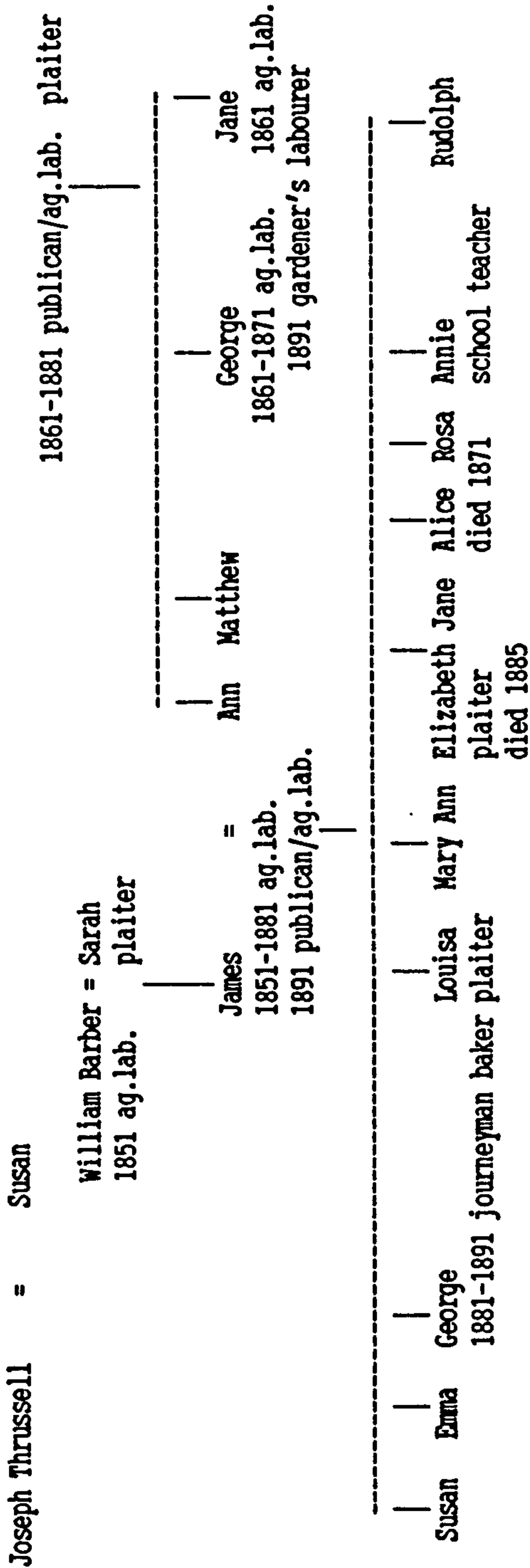


FIGURE 35.--Bonfield family, St. Paul's Walden.

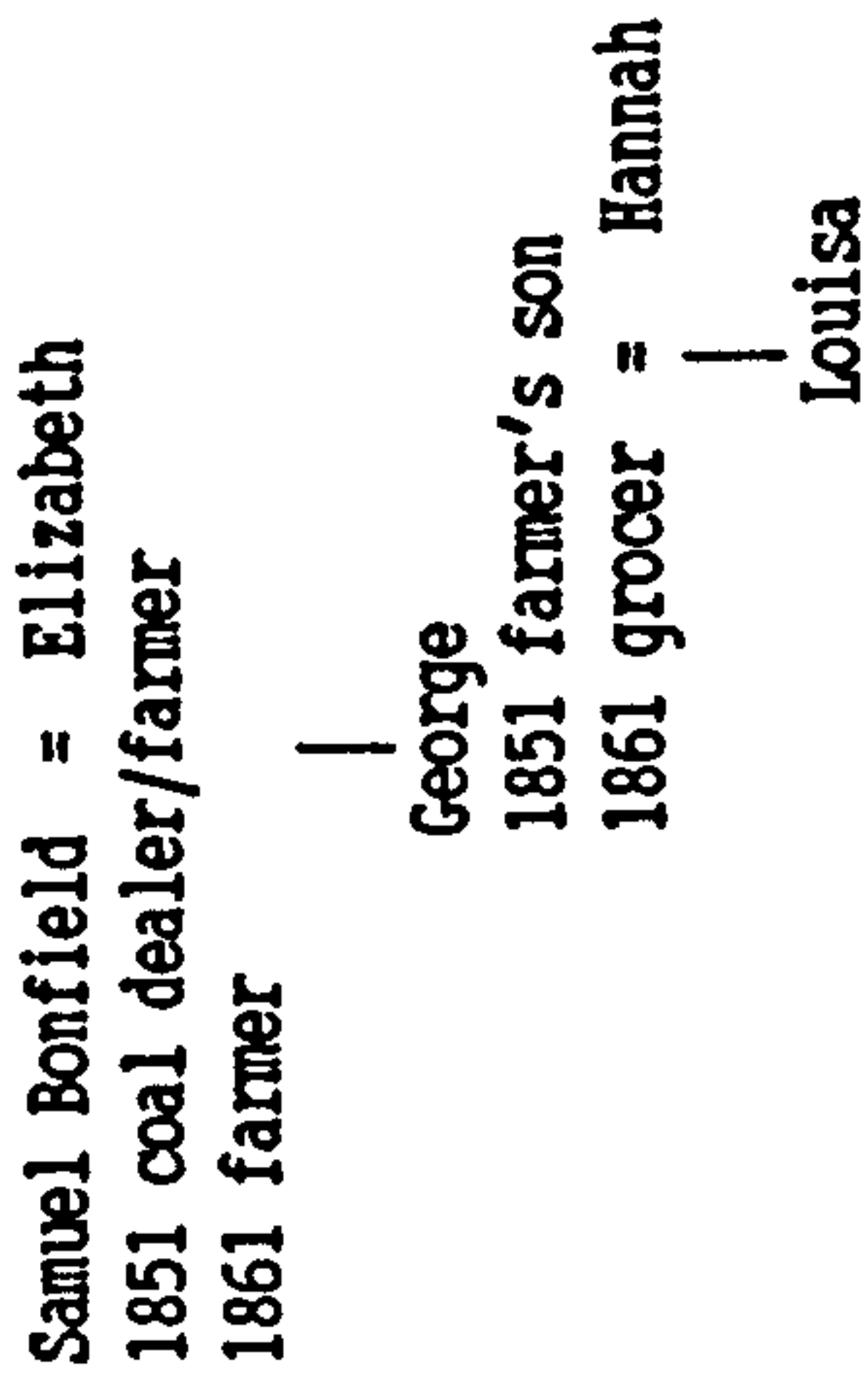


FIGURE 36.--Clark family, St. Paul's Walden.

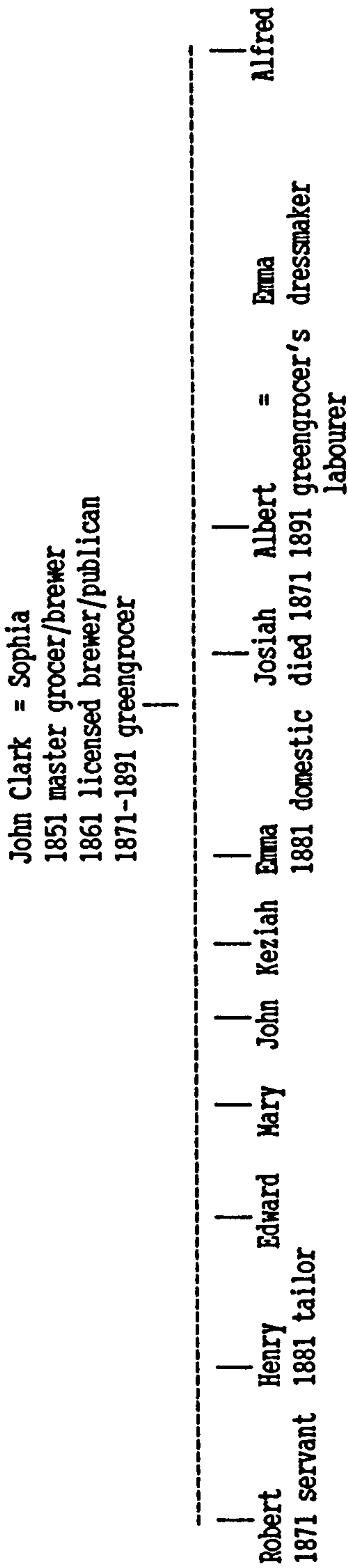


FIGURE 37.--Eldred family, St. Paul's Walden.

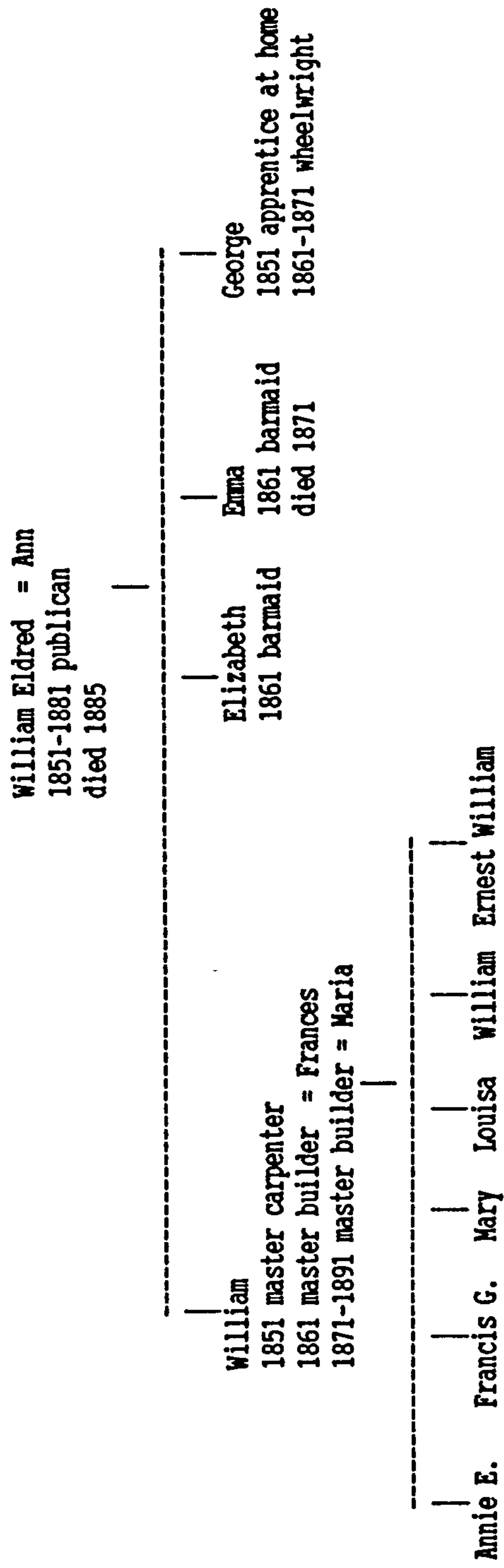


FIGURE 38.--Orsman family, St. Paul's Walden.

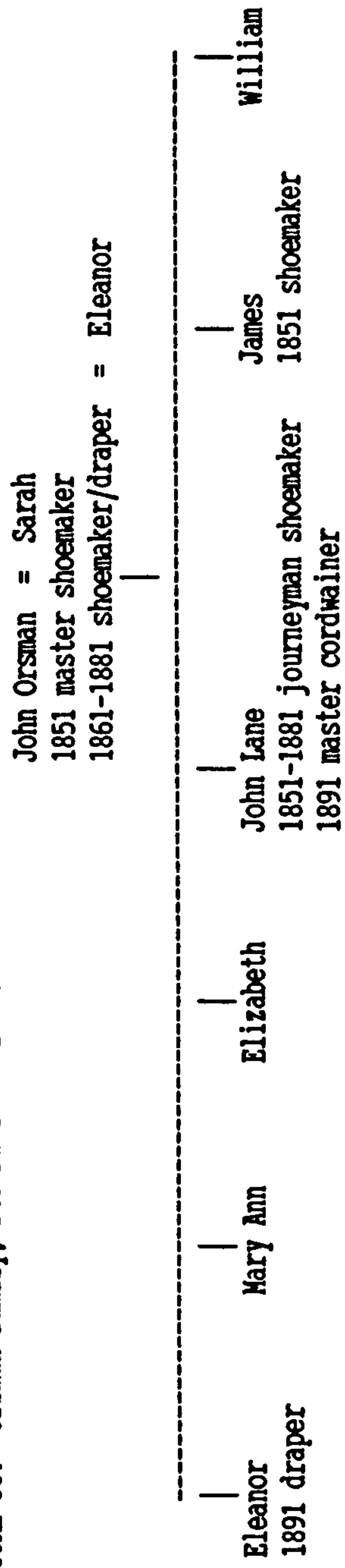


FIGURE 39.--Robinson family, St. Paul's Walden.

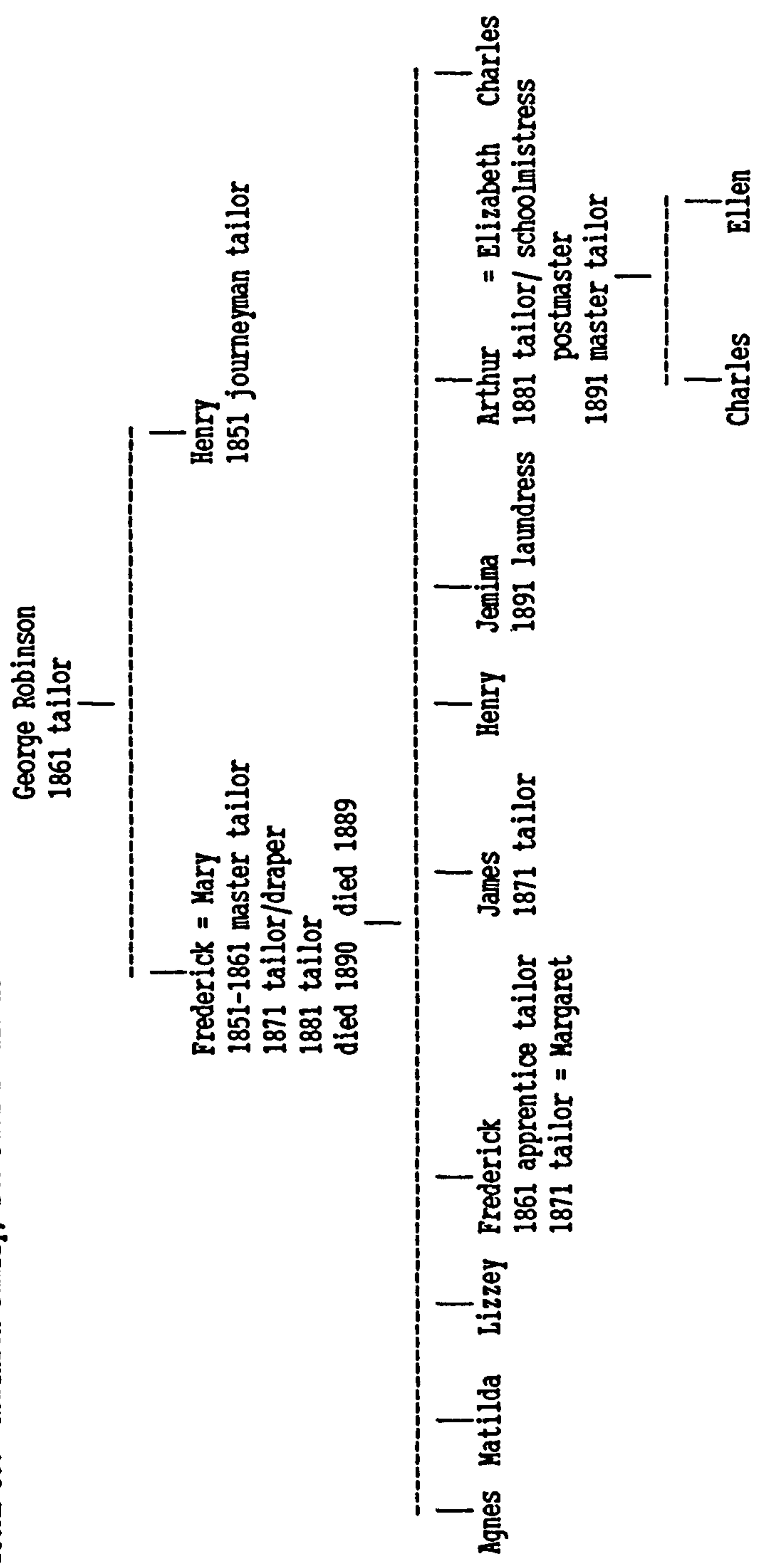


FIGURE 40.--Saunders family, St. Paul's Walden.

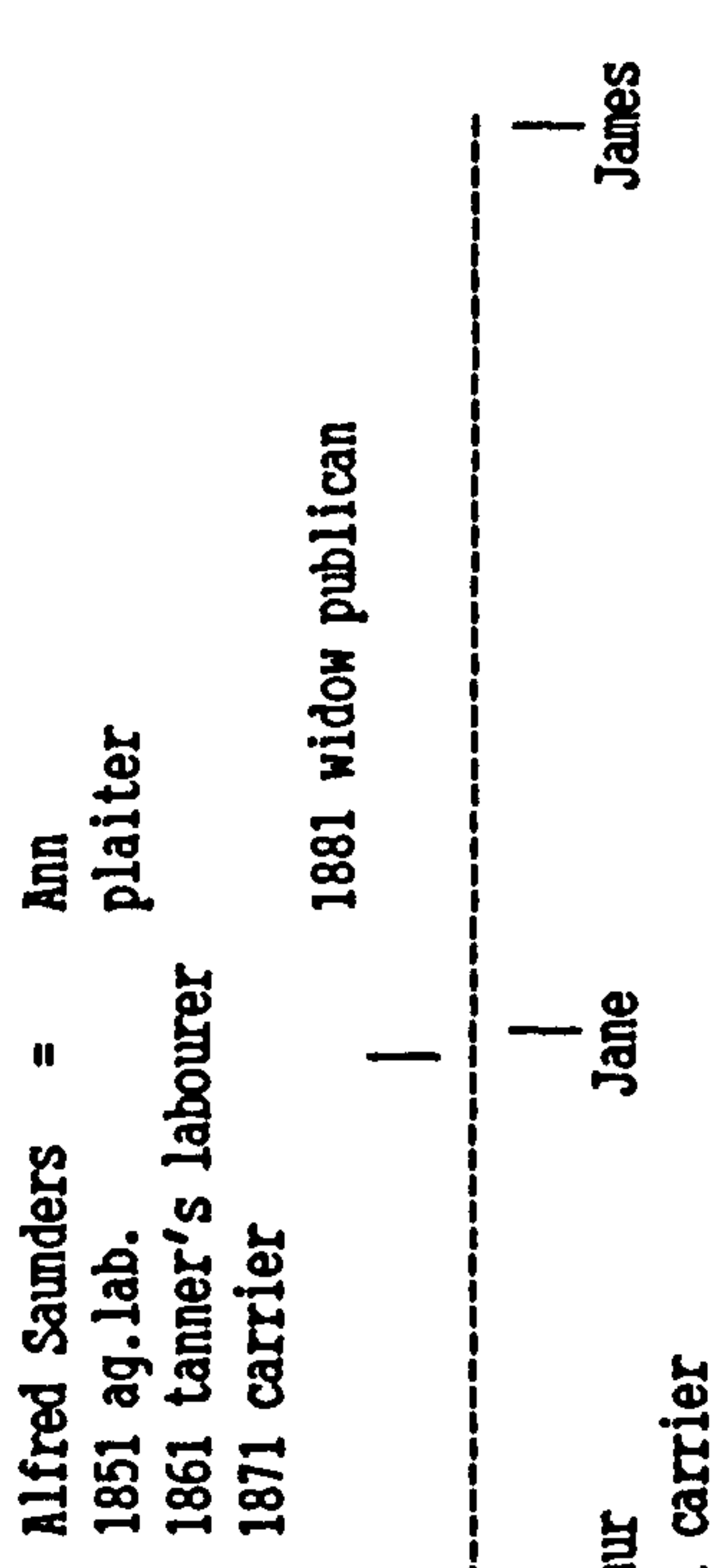


FIGURE 41.--Saunderson family, St. Paul's Walden.

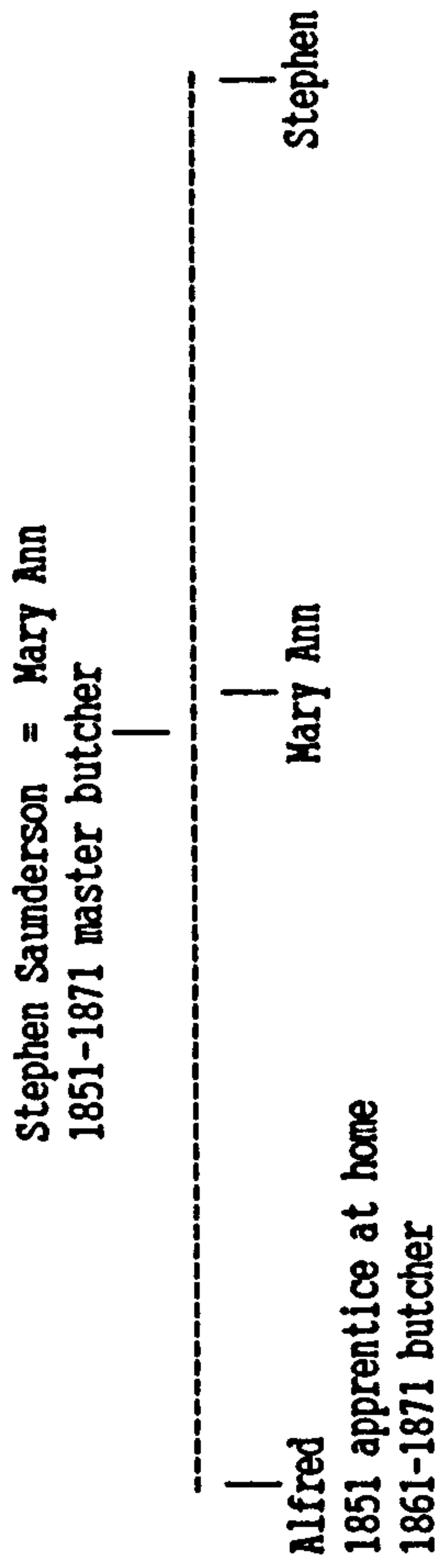
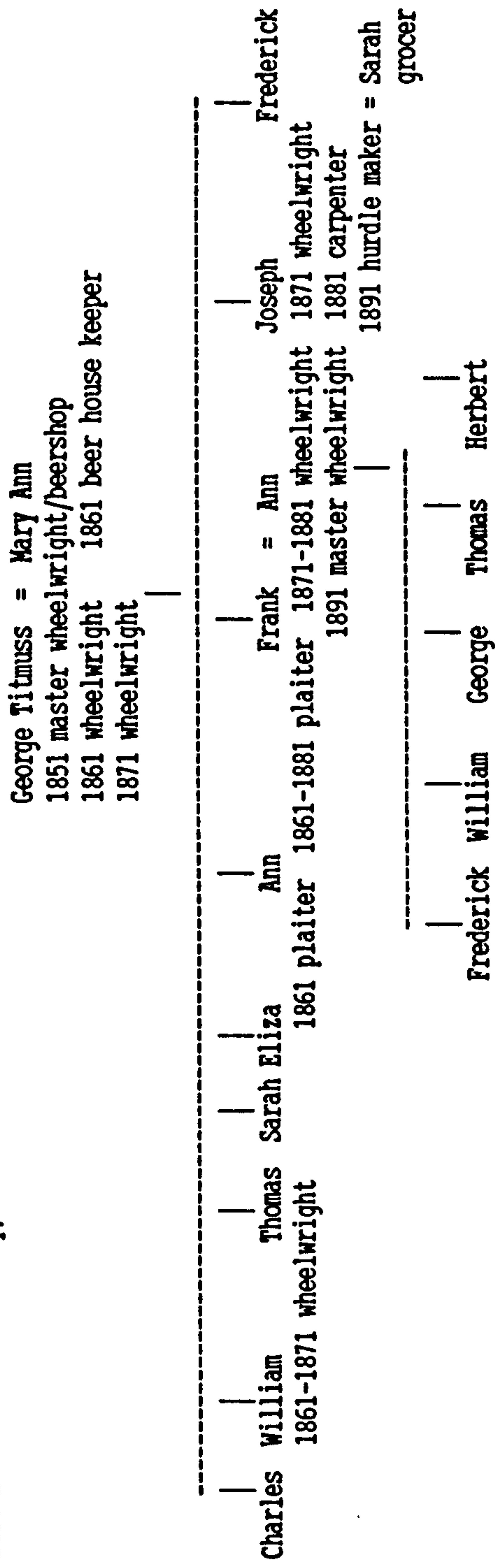


FIGURE 42.--Titmuss family, St. Paul's Walden.



Occupations of wives and daughters were seldom recorded in the census enumerators' books unless the wife had been widowed and, consequently, had now become the head of the household. Exceptions were school teachers, post office employees (Figures 29 and 39) and in households where the wife ran the business (Figure 42). The census enumerators in St. Paul's Walden seem to have been slightly more conscientious in the recording of specific female occupations than their counterparts in Much Hadham. Thus, we cannot explore all aspects of women's employment due to under-recording in the census.

As we have seen, widows sometimes continued their husband's occupation, for example Hannah Lane, widow of Daniel Lane continued the beer retailing business (Figure 22). On the other hand, others became engaged in a different trade. For example, Ann Saunders, widow of Alfred Saunders, carrier, became a publican after she was widowed (Figure 40).

Some craftsmen and tradesmen had farming backgrounds, for example, George Halestrap, a farmer's son, became a master builder (Figure 20); another farmer's son, George Bonfield, became a grocer (Figure 35). Some farm workers also became associated with specific trades: Daniel Lane, farm labourer, became a dealer/beer retailer (Figure 22); William Perry, agricultural labourer, also became a beer retailer (Figure 24); and James Barber, agricultural labourer and son-in-law of Joseph Thrussell,

publican/agricultural labourer, took over Thrussell's publican business between 1881 and 1891 (Figure 34).

There was less movement from a specific craft or trade occupation to that of farmer. Indeed, in this particular analysis, only one tradesman was to become a farmer. This was Joseph Stracey, miller/baker/corn and coal dealer of Much Hadham (Figure 28). However, some of the sons of craftsmen and tradesmen became farmers, as for example, did William Lane, whose father Daniel Lane was a dealer/beer retailer (Figure 22); and Robert H. Archer, whose father was a farmer/brewer/maltster (Figure 33).

It was much more usual for sons of craftsmen and tradesmen to become farm workers: for example, Walter, William, Henry and Thomas, sons of William Perry, agricultural labourer/beer retailer, became agricultural labourers (Figure 24); William Edward, son of Charles Prior, shoemaker, also became an agricultural labourer (Figure 25). Clearly, to some extent, these particular trends can be construed as evidence of downward social mobility--movements that were common in more marginal trades such as publican or shoemaker than in higher status trades.

In some families only the eldest son continued with the same occupation as the father whilst the other offspring took up different employment. Examples of this employment continuity include: Alfred Hassall, carpenter (Figure 21); Joseph Saunders, shoemaker (Figure 26); Arthur Saunders,

carrier (Figure 40); and Alfred Saunderson, butcher (Figure 41).

In other families some of the sons (not the eldest) assumed the father's occupation while others took up different trades. There does not seem to have been any occupational bias; the occupations concerned were: blacksmith (Figure 23), bricklayer (Figures 27 and 29), shoemaker (Figures 25 and 38), miller/baker/corn and coal merchant (Figure 28), baker (Figure 31), tailor (Figure 39), and wheelwright (Figure 42).

But, as we might expect, especially in well-established families, dynasties of craftsmen and tradesmen developed. There were three generations of Thurgoods who were bricklayers and builders (Figure 29), but, for an unknown reason, the fourth generation took up different trades. The Robinson tailoring business carried on to the third generation (Figure 39).

In some cases, distinctive parts of a family business appears to be divided among the sons. Frederick Archer was a farmer/brewer/maltster, while his son Robert H. became a farmer/landowner and his other son Frederick W. became a brewer/maltster (Figure 33).

Occasionally all the sons had different occupations from the father, for example, William Eldred, publican, one of whose sons became a master builder and another a wheelwright (Figure 37). In one case the father was a

journeyman shoemaker but the son became a master shoemaker (Figure 26).

From this analysis, we gain the overall impression that some craft and trade enterprises provided sufficient opportunity for the next generation, but opportunities were limited in other businesses. A number of sons experienced what seems to have been downward social mobility, becoming agricultural labourers. In contrast, small numbers of agricultural labourers were able to gain a position in the craft/trade hierarchy by becoming publicans or beer retailers. In general, this occupation does not seem to have passed to the next generation. In rare cases, craftsmen and tradesmen, or their sons, became farmers. Thus, the pressure economically or socially was downward rather than upward.

Jean Robin has studied the choice of marriage partner among craftsmen and tradesmen and those of similar status in nineteenth-century Elmdon.⁵¹ She defined two status groups among craftsmen and tradesmen. Group i comprises shopkeepers, tradesmen, heads of business, male head servants in private households, schoolmistresses, and their children. Specific occupations included in this group are: grocer, draper, baker, butcher, ironmonger, whitesmith, tailor, master plumber and glazier, master bricklayer, publican/beer seller, owner or tenant of smithy and wheelwright's shop, butler, head gardener, and

⁵¹ J. Robin, Elmdon: Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village: 1861-1964, Cambridge University Press, 1980, 148-9.

schoolmistress. Group ii is composed of employees of small businesses, lesser tradesmen and craftsmen, those in lower positions of responsibility in private households, and, of course, their children. Specific occupations represented in this group are: employee blacksmith, employee bricklayer, carpenter, thatcher, painter, carrier, undergardener and groom. More than three-quarters in Group i took spouses of equivalent standing, even if they had to marry someone from outside the parish. Three-quarters in Group ii chose partners of different social standing, and most of these married a member of the labouring class: that is, in terms of social mobility, they married downwards. This supports Mills' comment that the self-employed or master tradesman/craftsman group formed a distinct social group within nineteenth-century rural communities, while the employees--journeymen, apprentices and assistants--had more in common as a group with the agricultural labourers.

For reasons of data availability, it was not possible to trace the occupations of wives of craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden. The census enumerators' books and the parish registers recorded few of the marriages of craftsmen and tradesmen. In all likelihood, marriages would have taken place in the bride's parish and, unless the bride had been born there, these would not have been recorded in either of the study parishes. On the other hand, it is possible to examine the occupational status of men who were the sons of craftsmen and tradesmen both before and after marriage. A few distinctive trends emerge.

In general, journeyman status did not appear to be an obstacle to marriage (Figures 20, 23, 25-29, 32, and 42). Of those who did marry, some achieved self-employed or master status within the decade covered by the same census (Figures 25, 30, and 31).

In other cases, a son married and changed his occupation within the decade covered by the same census: for example, James Thurgood, changed his occupation from journeyman carpenter to shopkeeper/stationer (Figure 29); Henry Topcott, changed from baker to innkeeper (Figure 31); George Bonfield, farmer's son, became a grocer (Figure 35). Often, the new occupations were less skilled retail occupations and did not require a long apprenticeship, nor much capital outlay.

This suggests that, in general, journeyman craftsmen and tradesmen were not so hard pressed economically that they were unable to marry. However, in some cases the family occupation does not appear to have been able to provide sufficient business to enable the son to set up an independent establishment. So, where a son adopted a new occupation, usually this was in retailing and required low skill and capital outlay.

Conclusions

This analysis of the craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden shows that, within the context of their respective communities, they behaved consistently with their counterparts in other communities both in the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Craftsmen and tradesmen formed a recognisable group within the rural community. Some craft and trade families were long-established in the community and, in the nineteenth century, may have been 'core' members of their village. The nineteenth-century perception of the rural community is strongly bound up with a sense of place, typically that of the parish. This may explain, in part, the substantial proportions of self-sufficient parishes in nineteenth century rural Hertfordshire, as established in Chapter 6. Despite overall population decline, each village community experienced a constant flow of in- and out-migrants during the nineteenth century. Substantial proportions of craft and trade families were among these migrants. Movements of craft and trade families were related closely to life-cycle stages and involved all occupations, although numbers of master and self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen were by and large maintained. The 'hotel' analogy might be appropriate here: there was a fairly constant number of craftsmen and tradesmen positions within each study parish, but the individuals providing the services changed quite frequently. The continuity of occupations among the co-resident children of master and self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen suggests that the craft and trade group formed a distinctive group during the nineteenth century. However, this conclusion is of a somewhat tentative nature because out-migration means that these individuals cannot be traced for research purposes; and, moreover, there is no way of knowing the extent to which these offspring might have continued in the same occupation at another location. It must also be noted

that, towards the end of the century, there is evidence of some downward social mobility amongst sons of craftsmen and tradesmen into farm work. Much less frequently did the sons of craftsmen and tradesmen move upwards to become farmers. In terms of Wrightson's 'constellations' (social groups within the rural community that exhibited common characteristics) craftsmen and tradesmen seemed to have more in common with the farm worker group than with the farmer group, particularly as the century progressed. The implication of this is that the social and economic status of the rural craftsmen and tradesmen group appears to have declined in the late nineteenth century. Ownership of land is an important indicator of economic status in the nineteenth-century rural community. Chapter 10 contains an analysis of the landholding characteristics of craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden, and thus explores in more detail the economic status of craftsmen and tradesmen in these parishes during the nineteenth century.

LAND OCCUPATION AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY--A CASE STUDY OF TWO PARISHES

The History of Landownership in the Two Parishes

The previous chapter discussed the behaviour of craftsmen and tradesmen in relation to their businesses when faced with declining economic opportunities. This chapter investigates more specifically access to land enjoyed by the craftsmen and tradesmen of Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden and their stake in property more generally, from the 1830s to c.1910. In particular, it examines the incidence of owner-occupation and interest in farming because these are among the indicators of economic standing in the community. Moreover, as we saw in Chapter 6, occupation of agricultural land was a pre-requisite for household independence.

Since landownership patterns largely determined the amount of land available to small scale occupiers, we need, at the outset, to consider the history and context of landownership in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden, both of which were, in general terms, 'open' parishes, with property much subdivided.

Much Hadham had a long history of multiple ownership and contained several ancient manors, the Bishops of London being the principal owners. After the Conquest, their manor had formed part of the Bishop of London's Liberty of Stortford. In 1868, it was transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but was soon sold to Mrs Berry in 1888, passing on again to Mrs Wetherall in 1893. The smaller manor of Delamere was purchased by a merchant in

1484. The lands with which the Church was endowed formed a third manor, the Rectory manor of Much Hadham, with the rector as manorial lord.

Thus, by the nineteenth century, there existed a number of modestly significant estates in the parish. The estate of Haldane Court, held by the Bishop of London after the Conquest, was owned by the Parnell family from the end of the sixteenth century. Moor Place estate had been held by the Bishop of London, but from the fifteenth century onwards the property changed hands several times. Old Hall Estate was the property of the Marchioness of Exeter. From the eighteenth century this was held by a variety of owners, mainly merchants.¹

Although the landed estates changed hands fairly frequently, there was no dominant landlord in the parish--that is: no single person owned more than 50 per cent of the land during the nineteenth century.

St. Paul's Walden resembled Much Hadham in containing a number of ancient manors, the biggest of which was held by the Abbey of St. Albans. In 1544 it was granted to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, London, whose property it remained until the Ecclesiastical Commissioners became holders in the nineteenth century.

¹ W. Page, ed., Victoria County History of Hertfordshire (1906-1914), 1914, Vol. 4, 58, Kelly's Directory, 1910, 88-89.

St. Paul's Walden Bury manor was purchased by the Earl of Strathmore, who also leased land from the Bishop of London. He appears to have exercised some influence in St. Paul's Walden village. The manor of Stagenhoe had various owners and, by 1910, was the seat of William Bailey Hawkins. The manor of Hoo was the seat of Viscount Hampden (Lord Dacre). The manor of Leggatts or Howenden was held by the Abbey of St. Albans, then by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, London, until it was taken over by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The manor of Bradway had ceased to exist by the nineteenth century.²

As in the case of Much Hadham, there was no single dominant landlord during the nineteenth century. Both parishes exhibited a degree of openness, appropriate and consistent with a vigorous craft/trade sector, as is demonstrated further in the next section.

The Distribution of Large Landholdings, c.1830-1910

Here attention is focused mainly on the large landowners, the position of craftsmen and tradesmen being the subject of the following section. As discussed in Chapter 4, land tax assessments, the tithe awards, the 1873 New Domesday Survey and the 1910 Lloyd George Domesday Survey are the data sources used to study the pattern of landownership.

² Page, Victoria County History, Vol. 2, 405, Kelly's Directory, 1910, 192-3, The Parish of St. Paul's Walden, St. Paul's Walden Society, Codicote Press, Hitchin, 1980, 22-46, *passim*.

The land tax assessments used were the latest surviving: 1838 for Much Hadham and 1825 for St. Paul's Walden. Slight differences occurred in the information recorded in these documents, with those for Much Hadham recording the proprietor, occupier, description of the property and the tax paid, but those for St. Paul's Walden recording the proprietor, occupier, rent and tax paid.

In line with the methodology suggested by Turner and Mills,³ direct parochial comparisons as to the amount of tax assessed has been approached with caution because of inconsistencies of assessment from parish to parish, but the assessments provide general indications of the numbers of large owners in the two parishes.

TABLE 64.--Number of owners and percentage of tax paid, 1825/1832.

Tax Band	Much Hadham 1832		St. Paul's Walden 1825	
	Assessments		Assessments	
£	No.	%	No.	%
£20+	6	70.8	2	46.0
£10+	5	11.3	4	22.7
£8+	1	1.7	2	8.0
£5+	4	4.2	4	9.6
£4+	1	0.8	1	2.1
£2+	12	6.0	5	6.1
£1+	9	2.5	3	1.9
10s+	10	1.2	9	2.9
4s+	22	1.4	6	0.6
<4s	none	none	none	none
Total	70	99.9	36	99.9

Sources: Land Tax Assessments (C.R.O. Ref. 1/72 and C.R.O. Ref. 1/75).

³ M. Turner and D.R. Mills, eds., Land and Property: The English Land Tax 1692-1832, Alan Sutton, 1986, 7.

Table 64 shows the numbers of owners and the percentage of tax paid in tax bands. Six owners in the top band in Much Hadham (out of 70) accounted for 70.8 per cent of the total value assessed. In St. Paul's Walden the six owners in the top two bands were similarly assessed for 68.7 per

TABLE 65.--Largest landowners recorded in the Tithe Awards.

NAMES OF LANDOWNERS	A.	R.	P.*	OWNERSHIP TYPE	RESIDENCE
<u>Much Hadham 1838</u>					
Hannah Anthony	484	3	24	landlord/ owner-occupier	Winches
James Adam Gordon	1,567	2	20	landlord	
Sarah Jones	126	2	12	landlord	
Daniel Neal Lister	110	3	30	landlord	
William Horton Lloyd	350	0	24	landlord/ owner-occupier	Exnalls
Mary Spencer	458	3	22	landlord	
Elizabeth Parnell	227	2	21	landlord/ owner-occupier	High St.
Thomas Randolph	287	3	5	landlord/ owner-occupier	Rectory
Total Acreage	3,614	1	38		
Parish Acreage	4,490				
<u>St. Paul's Walden, 1841</u>					
Earl Strathmore	602	2	22	Landlord/ owner-occupier	Paul's Waldenbury
Arthur Duncombe	584	3	14	Landlord/ owner-occupier	Stagenhoe
Lord Dacre	1,021	2	38	Landlord/ owner-occupier	The Hoo
John Wellingham	270	2	26	Landlord/ owner-occupier	Leggatts
Richard Jepps	313	0	1	Landlord/ owner-occupier	End Farm East Hall
John Hill	606	1	10	Landlord/ owner-occupier	Bendish
Total Acreage	3,396	0	31		
Parish Acreage	3,720				

* Acres, roods and perches.

Sources: Tithe Awards for Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden
(C.R.O. Refs. DSA 4, 45/1 and DSA 4, 107/1)

cent of the total. However, the modal tax bands were four shillings to ten shillings at Much Hadham and ten shillings to one pound at St. Paul's Walden. Thus it is clear that both places contained large numbers of small proprietors, a characteristic of open parishes, even though there was also some concentration of property-holding at the top end of the range.

The tithe awards for Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden, dated 1838 and 1841 respectively, provide further information on landownership patterns, in particular, actual acreages rather than tax assessments (Table 65). There was only one landowner in each parish whose property exceeded 1,000 acres. Half of the relatively large landowners of Much Hadham were absentee landlords, but the largest landowners recorded in St. Paul's Walden were both owner-occupiers and resident landlords. None of the large landowners in Much Hadham or St. Paul's Walden were craftsmen or tradesmen.

Table 66 summarises the position for all landowners, using a series of acreage bands. As with the land tax assessments, the landownership distribution reveals a fragmented pattern, with a total of 77 owners in Much Hadham and 49 owners in St. Paul's Walden. For both parishes, the modal category was less than one acre; the second largest category was 6-10 acres. St. Paul's Walden had a higher proportion of very large owners but the middle group, 50-200 acres, representing large owner-occupier farmers, was thinly represented. There were large numbers of small land and

property owners in the two parishes, indicating a significant degree of openness, despite the presence of some relatively large owners.

TABLE 66.--All landowners: numbers of owners and percentage of land owned.

=====				
Acreage	Much Hadham, 1838		St. Paul's Walden, 1841	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
<1	34	0.52	19	0.19
1-5	6	0.34	6	0.31
6-10	10	1.22	11	1.56
10-25	9	3.05	2	1.00
25-50	4	4.57	4	3.40
50-100	5	6.46	0	0
100-150	3	8.31	0	0
150-200	1	3.73	1	4.57
200-300	1	5.21	1	7.55
300-400	1	8.03	1	8.40
400-500	2	21.64	1	12.28
>500	1	35.94	3	60.76
=====				
Mean	62.3 acres		73.3 acres	

Source: Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden tithe awards.

As we found in Chapter 4, the new 'Domesday Survey' of 1873 was much less detailed than either the land tax assessments or the tithe awards. Only the larger landowners with holdings in Hertfordshire are recorded, together with their parish of residence. Direct comparisons either with the tithe awards or with the land tax assessments may turn out to be invalid because some substantial landowners may have held land mainly outside the parish of residence, and would therefore not have exerted much influence in that parish. Table 67 lists these substantial landowners recorded in the 1873 'Domesday Survey' for both parishes. Again, we find that there was a handful of substantial landowners, and, apart from Lord Dacre, whose main holdings

were elsewhere, they were not landowners of a size sufficient to dominate their parishes of residence.

TABLE 67.--Large landowners, 1873.

=====				
Names of landowners	Acres	Roods	Perches	
<hr/>				
<u>Much Hadham</u>				
Money Wigram	223	0	0	in Hertfordshire
Henry Samuel Mott	144	0	23	
Mrs Nicholson	354	2	11	
Thomas Randolph	620	0	38	also in Ware
<hr/>				
<u>St. Paul's Walden</u>				
Lord Dacre	7,100	0	0	in Hertfordshire
F.H. Archer	645	3	31	
Earl Caithness	613	2	37	
Richard Jepps	329	1	7	
John Wellingham	268	1	8	
<hr/>				

Source: The New Domesday Book of Hertfordshire, Hertford, 1873.

The valuation books of the 1910 Domesday Survey have been used as a source for substantial landowners in 1910. Unlike that covering St. Paul's Walden,⁴ the valuation book for Much Hadham⁵ did not record the extent of the majority of landholdings. For this reason, acreages have been obtained from the field survey books. Large holdings are taken as those covering more than 100 acres, with a site value exceeding £4,000. There was a larger number of substantial owners in Much Hadham than in St. Paul's Walden, but the majority of these were absentee landlords (Table 68). In St. Paul's Walden, by contrast, three out of the four large owners were owner-occupiers. Also the largest landowners in St. Paul's Walden held land with a much

⁴ C.R.O. Ref. IR2/46/1.

⁵ C.R.O. Ref. IR2/1/1.

greater gross value than those in Much Hadham. This is fairly consistent with the earlier surveys, and shows that there were no significant changes in landownership patterns, in either parish, during much of the nineteenth century.

TABLE 68.--Substantial landowners, 1910.

Owner	Extent			Gross Value (£)	Ownership Type
	A.	R.	P.*		
<u>Much Hadham</u>					
Henry Bacon	In Albury			4,065	landlord/ owner-occupier
C.Fitzroy Doll	119	2	0	12,275	owner-occupier
M. Gosselins	267	1	8	6,296	landlord
R.S.Gregory	150	0	38	4,660	landlord/ owner-occupier
Mrs Hunt	418	1	4	6,178	landlord
F.H.Norman	250	3	10	18,100	landlord
T. & G. Oyler	200	3	4	7,885	landlord
Shaw Townsend	154	1	7	4,060	owner-occupier
Mrs Hunt	307	1	2	7,043	landlord
<u>St. Paul's Walden</u>					
T.F.Harrison	469	3	3	11,899	landlord
Viscount Hampden (Lord Dacre)	1,317	2	16	51,080	landlord/ owner-occupier
William Bailey					
Hawkins	640	3	26	27,800	owner-occupier
Earl Strathmore	766	0	22	26,680	landlord/ owner-occupier

* Acres, roods and perches.

Source: Lloyd George Domesday Survey.

This brief analysis of landholdings in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden shows that, throughout the nineteenth century, most of the real estate in both parishes was held by a small number of landowners, but none had a controlling interest in the parish as a whole. Because Earl Strathmore resided at St. Paul's Waldenbury and appears to have exerted a significant influence on the social makeup of St. Paul's Walden village, it seems to have exhibited some of the

characteristics of a closed community. However, whilst there was a mix of both open and closed features in both parishes, on balance the characteristics of 'open' communities pre-dominated.

Landholdings amongst Craftsmen and Tradesmen

Despite the existence of many small landowners at Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden, craftsmen and tradesmen were generally low in terms of the landholding hierarchy. None of the substantial landowners, in any of the study years between 1838 and 1910, were craftsmen and tradesmen, as is consistent with the social and economic position of craftsmen and tradesmen as members of a rural 'middle class'. The above sources have also been exploited to throw light on the landholding characteristics of self-employed/master craftsmen and tradesmen. As no evidence of sub-letting has been found, ownership and occupation status as recorded in the sources, has been taken at face value.

Taking Much Hadham first, Table 138 in Appendix 4 provides details of landholding patterns of all the self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen who could be identified in the 1832 land tax assessment for Much Hadham. It acts as a support for Table 139 in Appendix 4, which records the property characteristics of self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham in 1838, derived from the tithe award, which allows a much more detailed analysis.

This analysis of the tenurial positions of craftsmen and tradesmen is shown in Tables 69-70 and 72-73 (and Tables

138-139 in Appendix 4) and has been carried out on a similar basis to Mills' analysis for Melbourn, Cambridgeshire, using similar documents.⁶ Firstly, he classified tenurial functions on a four-fold basis: (1) owner-occupation; (2) landlord; (3) substantial tenant, i.e. a tenant of any property larger than a cottage and garden; and (4) tenement tenant, i.e. tenant of a cottage. He then took into account the fact that many individuals fulfilled more than a single function, e.g. many owner-occupiers rented out some of the property they owned, thus combining functions (1) and (2). In principle, eleven different combinations of the four functions might be found, as shown by lines A-L and the left-hand portion of Table 69.

At Much Hadham in 1838, seven of these combinations occurred, indicating an apparently considerable tenurial complexity, even if below the levels of complexity found at Melbourn, where all combinations were represented. Sixteen of the 22 craftsmen and tradesmen in the table, however, fell into one of the following three simple categories: owner-occupier (five), substantial tenant (six), tenement tenant (five). Looking at the table in this way shows that complexity was really quite limited, although the tenurial position of our craftsmen and tradesmen obviously varied significantly. This variation does not appear to have been related to specific occupations, as the lower part of the table shows that these were distributed fairly randomly across the tenurial categories.

⁶ D.R. Mills, Lord and peasant in nineteenth-century Britain, Croom Helm, 1980, 70.

TABLE 69.--Analysis of landholding patterns of craftsmen and tradesmen, Much Hadham, 1838.

=====												
Owner- Occupier	Land- Lord	Substantial Tenant	Tenement Tenant	Land Occupiers	Total Land Owned				Mean Acreage			
				No.	‡	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.*	
<hr/>												
A	X			5	22.7	0	2	26	0	0	21	
B	X	X		1	4.5	0	0	33	0	0	33	
C	X		X	2	9.1	0	1	6	0	0	23	
D			X	6	27.3							
E				X	5	22.7						
F	X	X	X	1	4.5	50	0	32	50	0	32	
G		X		0	0							
H		X	X	2	9.1	0	2	37	0	1	19	
J	X	X		X	0	0						
K		X		X	0	0						
L	X			X	0	0						
<hr/>												
Total				22	99.9							

* Acres, roods and perches.

Lines A-L indicate combinations of tenurial functions, e.g. Line B = combination of owner-occupier and landlord.

OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED IN EACH CATEGORY:

A: bricklayer, baker, plumber, grocer

B: carpenter

C: maltster

D: blacksmith, butcher, bootmaker, tailor, shop, carrier/beer
retailer

E: plumber, bricklayer, miller, tinman/brazier, butcher, carrier

F: farmer/butcher

H: publican, publican, grocer/dreaper/smith

L: butcher/beer retailer

Source: 1838 Tithe Schedules, C.R.O. Ref. DSA 4 45/1.

At St. Paul's Walden (Table 70), tenurial complexity was exhibited to a lesser degree than at Much Hadham, with six as opposed to seven combinations represented, and nine out of the 18 craftsmen and tradesmen occurring in the substantial tenant category. Again, occupations appear to have been randomly represented in the categories present.

Summing up the early Victorian period so far, it could be said that by comparison with the probably exceptional Melbourn (a significantly bigger village), the tenurial

positions of craftsmen and tradesmen in the two Hertfordshire villages, though varying, were not particularly complex. Table 71 now affords an opportunity to turn from tenure to the acreages held by our subjects of study.

TABLE 70.--Analysis of landholding patterns of craftsmen and tradesmen in St. Paul's Walden, 1841.⁷

=====												
Owner-Occupier	Land Lord	Substantial Tenant	Tenement Tenant	No.	% Owned	Total Land			Mean Acreage			
						A. R.	P.		A. R.	P.	*	
A	X			2	11.1	3	0	14	1	2	7	
B	X	X		2	11.1	40	0	0	20	0	0	
C	X		X	1	5.6	1	0	2	1	0	2	
D			X	9	50.0							
E				X	3	16.7						
F	X	X	X	0	0							
G		X		0	0							
H		X	X	1	5.6	0	0	23	0	0	23	
J	X	X		X	0	0						
K		X		X	0	0						
L	X			X	0	0						
=====												
Total				18	100.1							
=====												

* Acres, roods and perches.

Lines A-L indicate combinations of tenurial functions, e.g. Line B = combination of owner-occupier and landlord.

OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED IN EACH CATEGORY:

- A: grocer/baker, brewer/maltster.
- B: tanner.
- C: butcher.
- D: miller/coal merchant/farmer, shopkeeper, butcher, saddler, wheelwright, publican/blacksmith, publican, grocer/baker, publican.
- E: tailor, bootmaker, carpenter.
- H: publican.

Source: Tithe award

Table 71 allows us to compare acreages held by self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen in both Much Hadham and St.

⁷ Table 140 in Appendix 4 shows the details of the landholdings of the individual craftsmen and tradesmen which are summarised in Table 70.

Paul's Walden. With the exception of two substantial traders (a maltster and a farmer/butcher in Much Hadham, who each occupied more than 100 acres), craftsmen and tradesmen in St. Paul's Walden tended to occupy more land than those in Much Hadham. There appears to have been more potential for St. Paul's Walden traders to become involved in small-scale agriculture as a subsidiary occupation.

TABLE 71.--Landholding patterns of self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden, 1838 and 1841.

Acreage	1838		1841	
	Much Hadham		St. Paul's Walden	
	No.	%	No.	%
<1	18*	81.8	9**	50.0
1-5	1+	4.6	4++	22.2
6-10	0	0	2	11.1
11-20	0	0	1	5.6
21-50	1	4.6	1	5.6
51-100	0	0	1	5.6
>100	2	9.1	0	0
Total	22	100.1	18	100.1

* includes an orchard

+ includes a pasture

** includes two orchard/pasture and one orchard

++ includes two orchard/pasture

Source: Tithe Schedules,

C.R.O. Ref. DSA 4 45/1 and

C.R.O. Ref. DSA 4 107/1.

As previously, we need to turn to the 1910 Domesday Survey for details of landholdings in the early twentieth century. This information for Much Hadham is shown in Table 72. The proportion of tenants who did not own any land had increased from 50.0 per cent in 1838 to 60.0 per cent in 1910, indicating that fewer independent traders had an economic stake in the parish. The descendants of only two traders, listed in 1838, still occupied land in 1910, suggesting that there was little or no continuity of

TABLE 72.--Landholding patterns of craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham, 1910.⁸

=====											
Owner-Occupier	Land-Lord	Substantial Tenant	Tenement Tenant	No.	%	Total Land Owned			Mean Acreage		
						A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P. [†]
A	X			5	14.3	0	1	22*	0	0	16
B	X	X		3	8.6	12	1	25	4	0	22
C	X		X	2	5.7	0	0	19**	0	0	19
D			X	18	51.4						
E				3	8.6						
F	X	X	X	2	5.7	6	2	1	3	0	1
G		X		2	5.7	0	3	39	0	2	0
H		X	X	0	0						
J	X	X		0	0						
K		X		0	0						
L	X			0	0						
Total				35	100						

[†] Acres, roods and perches.
* indicates only four extents were recorded.
** indicates only one extent was recorded.

Lines A-L indicate combinations of tenurial functions, e.g. Line B = combination of owner-occupier and landlord.

- OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED IN EACH CATEGORY:
- A: saddler, butcher, bootmaker, grocer, blacksmith/cycle agent.
 - B: beer seller, grocer, baker.
 - C: blacksmith.
 - D: butcher/farmer, beer retailer/wheelwright, publican, corn & coal merchant, publican, tobacconist, mechanical engineer, publican, publican, butcher, grocer, bootmaker, refreshment rooms, beer retailer, publican, grocer, beer retailer, coal merchant.
 - E: bootmaker, postmaster, tailor.
 - F: fancy repository, builder.
 - G: baker, builder.

Source: Lloyd George Domesday Survey.

ownership or occupation over this long period. Moreover, it is perhaps notable that three branches of large grocery businesses are listed in Table 141 (in Appendix 4): Baines and Topcoat, Greens Stores (Stansted) Ltd, and Holland and Barrett, but no self-employed grocer is recorded in the 1891 census enumerators' books. Thus

⁸ Refer to Table 141 in Appendix 4 for details concerning individual craftsmen and tradesmen.

outside businesses were starting to provide essential services in the parish suggesting a decline in resident rural service providers.

TABLE 73.--Landholding patterns of craftsmen and tradesmen, St. Paul's Walden, 1910.⁹

=====											
Owner-Occupier	Land-Lord	Substantial Tenant	Tenement Tenant	No.	%	Total Land Owned			Mean Acreage		
						A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.*
<hr/>											
A	X			2	7.4	0	2	38	0	1	19
C	X		X	1	3.7	0	0	18	0	0	18
D			X	23	85.2						
F	X	X	X	1	3.7	4	0	6	4	0	6
<hr/>											
Total				27	100.0						
<hr/>											

* Acres, roods and perches.

Lines A-L indicate combinations of tenurial functions, e.g. Line B = combination of owner-occupier and landlord.

OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED IN EACH CATEGORY:

- A: baker, grocer.
- C: hawker.
- D: baker, blacksmith, tailor, publican, beer retailer, publican, beer retailer, shopkeeper/carrier, bootmaker, publican, beer retailer, harnessmaker, builder, blacksmith/shopkeeper, publican, beer retailer, beer retailer, publican, publican, draper, publican, butcher, publican.
- F: miller.

Source: Lloyd George Domesday Survey.

Turning to St. Paul's Walden, Table 73 shows that the proportion of tenants with no landownership had also increased here, from 66.7 per cent in 1841 to 85.2 per cent in 1910. This proportion was higher in St. Paul's Walden than in Much Hadham, and must suggest that traders had a declining economic base in the parish, which might be associated with the steep fall in population at St. Paul's

⁹ Refer to Table 142 in Appendix 4 for details concerning individual craftsmen and tradesmen.

Walden. As noted for Much Hadham, there is clear evidence of hardly any continuity of land occupation in St. Paul's Walden: only one family, occupying a holding in 1841 was still represented in 1910.

Again, as done previously, we need to make size comparisons of the land and holdings in the two parishes under investigation (Table 74). The proportion of traders in St. Paul's Walden occupying more than one acre of land was slightly lower than in 1841 (See Table 71). This suggests that the opportunity for small-scale farming had declined in this parish, and, possibly, that household independence among traders was on the wane also. There is evidence, therefore, that traders in St. Paul's Walden had declined economically as a group in the period 1841-1910. In Much Hadham, there was a greater proportion of traders occupying between one and five acres, but fewer held larger amounts of land than in 1838. Overall, however, the general distribution of landholdings was similar to that in 1838

TABLE 74.--Land occupation, Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden, 1910.

Acreage	Much Hadham		St. Paul's Walden	
	No.	%	No.	%
<1	24	77.4	23*	85.2
1-5	4	12.9	2	7.4
6-10	0	0	0	0
11-20	2	6.5	1	3.7
21-50	1	3.2	0	0
51-100	0	0	0	0
>100	0	0	1	3.7
Total	31	100.0	27	100.0

* includes an orchard

(Table 66), suggesting that the economic position of craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham remained fairly stable throughout the nineteenth century.

It is also desirable to examine the types of landlord from whom the craftsmen and tradesmen held land and property, as it might be expected that these would not have been large landowners. Table 75, page 304, shows the landlords and tenants for Much Hadham for 1838 as recorded in the Tithe Survey, and that large landowners were in a minority, although some of these, for example, James A. Gordon, owned shops and business premises which had been rented to individual craftsmen and tradesmen. However, smaller landlords more usually made their property available for occupation by craftsmen and tradesmen, and some, such as Thomas Easton, grocer and draper, were themselves craftsmen and tradesmen. As we saw earlier, craftsmen and tradesmen were low in terms of the landholding hierarchy, that is, none were substantial landowners or landlords, and those who were tenants typically held their properties from smaller owners. Table 76, page 305, presents the same information for St. Paul's Walden in 1841 and it confirms that landownership followed similar patterns to that which we have identified in Much Hadham.

Moving on, again, to 1910, Table 77, page 306, gives details as to landlords in Much Hadham. Seventeen out of the twenty-three landlords were absentees, but only three were large landowners. In general, it seems that landlords themselves were not the family relatives of their tenants.

However, in at least one case the tenant, William Page, was the son of the landlord, Mrs Page. Also, it seems, the landlord and tenants by the name of Stracey may have been related; similarly the Parkers who were named both as landlord and tenant. Some absentee landlords may have been retired persons, substantial shopkeepers in nearby towns, and so forth, but it is interesting to note that all the public houses and beer shops appear to be owned by absentee brewers. As we saw in Chapter 3, brewing was a significant industry in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire. Many brewing concerns were large-scale enterprises centred in market towns such as Hitchin (located near St. Paul's Walden) and Hertford (situated close to Much Hadham). Many of these brewing concerns owned large numbers of public houses, some of which were situated in villages such as St. Paul's Walden.

Table 78, page 308, shows the St. Paul's Walden landlords. Again, the landholding pattern is very similar to that in Much Hadham, with the majority of landlords recorded as absentees. As in Much Hadham, absentee brewers owned almost all the public houses and beer shops. In contrast to the structure in Much Hadham, in this parish there do not appear to be any obvious family relationships between landlords and tenants.

Conclusions

By 1910, practically all of the public houses and beer shops were owned by absentee brewers. In general, landlords and tenants did not appear to be related. The majority of

landlords were themselves neither craftsmen nor tradesmen. Most landlords were absentees and, from the data that have been analysed, it was impossible to determine their status and occupations. A small number were large owners in their respective parishes who rented out small tracts of land or a few shops on an individual basis, but most landlords were smaller owners whose sympathies may have been closer to those of the traders than those of the large, gentry owners.

There does not appear to have existed a uniform pattern of landholding by craftsmen and tradesmen in villages such as Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden, which are typical of settlements with a well-developed craft and trade sector. Instead, there is evidence of significant differences between the two study parishes as regards the economic position of craftsmen and tradesmen. In St. Paul's Walden, there seems to have been a greater preference amongst craftsmen and tradesmen for owner-occupation; and they occupied more land in the first half of the nineteenth century than in 1910. In Much Hadham tradesmen and craftsmen occupied smaller parcels of land during the nineteenth century. This pattern continued largely unchanged into the early twentieth century.

St. Paul's Walden was situated in an area where the nature of rural service provision changed from segregation in the mid-nineteenth-century to one of hierarchical dependence by the end of the century, as we saw in Chapter 8. St. Paul's Walden seems to have served as a central village in this system. The reduced significance of

multiple occupations during the course of the nineteenth century suggests that there may have been a tendency towards greater specialisation over time. The record of landholding suggests that there was a possibility of household independence among traders in the parish at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but by the end of the century, household independence was no longer in evidence, although the village as a whole still exhibited self-sufficiency in basic goods and services. This corresponds to the second phase of self-sufficiency, defined in Chapter 6.

In marked contrast, Much Hadham was in an area whose dominant system of rural service provision throughout the nineteenth century was segregation or self-sufficiency as discussed in Chapter 7. This may explain why land occupation patterns remained stable, but it does not explain the apparent lack of farming interest amongst craftsmen and tradesmen. Much Hadham had once had a market charter and there may have been a tradition of craft and trade specialisation in the village. The evidence of land occupation suggests that the second phase of self-sufficiency, village self-sufficiency in basic services, rather than household independence, persisted throughout the nineteenth century.

From our analysis in this chapter, it is clear that there is little evidence for the existence of household independence in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden during the nineteenth century. Village self-sufficiency in terms of the provision of basic goods and services persisted

throughout the century and this phase of self-sufficiency appeared to be fairly stable in that numbers of specialised craftsmen and tradesmen were maintained in both parishes throughout this period. However, hierarchical dependence had become the predominant system of rural service provision amongst villages in the St. Paul's Walden area by 1891 (Chapter 8).

TABLE 75.--Landlords of craftsmen and tradesmen, Much Hadham, 1838.

Landlord Name	Occupation	Holding A. R.P.	Let Out A. R.P.*	Tenant Name	Occupation
Christie & Cuthrow Thomas James A. Gordon	grocer/draper	3.1.23 0.2.5 1567.2.20	3.1.23 0.0.26 354.2.23 199.2.38	Richard Woor John Wilson John Chambers James Knight Sen.	Red Lion pub harnessmaker maltster farmer/butcher grocer/draper butcher
Hawkes & Co. James Knight Sen.	brewers farmer/butcher	1.1.11 50.2.1	1.1.11 0.0.19 0.0.7	Ann Amey William Hardy John Burr	Bull Inn bootmaker beer shop/butcher
William H. Loyd Bishop of London Thomas Morris Elizabeth Parnell	gentry	350.0.24 458.3.22 0.0.33 227.2.21	0.0.32 14.3.30 0.0.7 4.3.26	William Green James Knight Sen. Aright Thurgood Richard Woor	carrier farmer/butcher shop publican
Thomas Randolph rector		287.3.5	0.0.33 0.0.16 0.0.9	Joseph Speller James Thurgood William Clark	plumber bricklayer miller
George Rowley James Spencer Tringham & others William G. Times Samuel Whitehead		2.2.11 5.1.31 31.2.4 7.2.31 0.0.15	0.0.24 0.0.9 31.2.4 0.0.31 0.0.15	William Wilson Charles Miller Richard Woor William Green Thomas Fuller	tinman/brazier butcher publican tailor carrier/beer shop

* Acres, roods and perches.
Source : Tithe Award.

TABLE 76.---Landlords of craftsmen and tradesmen, St. Paul's Walden, 1841.

Landlord Name	Occupation	Holding A. R.P.	Let Out A. R.P.*	Tenant Name	Occupation
Earl Strathmore		602.2.22	6.2.5	George D. Young	millier/farmer/coal merchant
Lord Dacre		1021.2.38	72.20.17	James Wabey	butcher
Mary Sheaf			1.1.1	William Eldred	publican
Richard Oakley		11.2.29	11.2.29	William Brown	shopkeeper
		4.0.19	3.1.26	James Wabey	butcher
John Hill			0.2.33	William Bignall	tailor
		606.1.10	1.0.28	Stephen Saunderson	butcher
			0.1.29	John Weatherley	saddler
			0.1.16	John Carter	wheelwright
			0.1.32	John Tomlin	publican/blacksmith
			0.0.14	John Orsman	bootmaker
Crabbe & Stoddard		3.0.11	3.0.11	Thomas Pearce	Red Lion pub
Charles Pilgrim		1.3.37	0.0.39	William Eldred & John Orsman	publican & bootmaker
Henry Crabb		0.1.16	0.1.16	William Eldred	Bull Inn
William Hawkins		0.2.26	0.2.26	William Saunders	grocer/baker
Charles Butler		0.3.34	0.1.36	Abraham Tolls	carpenter
Joseph Lucas		0.3.20	0.3.20	George Johns	Eagle & Child pub
William Sheaf		0.3.15	0.2.15	William Brown	shopkeeper
Thomas Lines		2.0.4	2.0.4	James Wabey	butcher

* Acres, roods and perches.

Source: Tithe Award.

TABLE 77.--Landlords of craftsmen and tradesmen, Much Hadham, 1910.

Landlord Name	Holding Occupation A.R. P.	Let Out A.R. P.	Tenant ** Name	Occupation
+Mrs Lucas execs	1.1.16	1.1.16	Malcolm Ayton	butcher
Mrs Warren		0.0.0	Baines & Co.	grocer
+Mrs H.G.Smith	0.0.18	0.0.12	Abraham Chapman	fancy repository
*R.S.Gregory, Rector	12.2.18	12.2.0	Abraham Chapman	fancy repository
F.R.Newman execs	150.0.38	1.0.0	Abraham Chapman	fancy repository
	0.0.16	0.0.8	S.L.Drage	bootmaker
		0.0.8	W.J.Trimby	tobacconist
+*F.H.Norman, JP	260.3.10	0.0.15	Miss Flower	refreshment rooms
+Benskin & Co. brewer	3.0.17	0.2.1	Walter Gaylor	beer shop
		1.1.9	Edward Grant	Bull Inn
		1.0.37	J.L.Stone	Old Bell Inn
+Mrs King, Hastings	0.0.21	0.0.7	Greens Stores	grocer
		0.0.14	M.L.Vealey	mechanical engineer
+Rogers & Co.	0.0.15	0.0.15	Walter Groves	beer shop
+W.Lyndsell, Cheshunt	0.0.25	0.0.25	William Hodge	coal merchant
E.B.Knight, London	39.0.16	0.0.21	H.J.Knight	butcher/farmer
Mrs Page blacksmith	0.0.31	0.0.18	William Page (son)	cycle agent
+Mrs Parker	4.2.29	0.0.13	William Parker	beer shop/wheelwright
& Henry Miles				
+George Prior	111.3.20	0.0.12	Late J.Saunders	bootmaker
+Joseph Stracey baker	0.1.23	0.0.26	J.C.Stracey	corn & coal merchant
		0.0.27	James Stracey	corn & coal merchant
*Mrs J.L.Hunt	418.1.4	8.2.34	G.L.Thurgood	builder
+N.F.Camp/Mrs Mott	14.1.6	14.0.22	G.L.Thurgood	builder
+N.Knight execs	0.0.31	0.0.31	G.L.Thurgood	builder
+T.W.Mott	0.1.32	n/a	James Thurgood	postmaster
+Mrs S.Thurgood builder	0.1.6	0.0.6	A.R.Swallow	shopkeeper
+McMullen & Son, Hertford brewer	1.3.25	0.0.19	F.Townsend	Rose & Crown pub
		1.3.0	James Whitby	beer shop

TABLE 77.-- Continued.

Landlord Name	Holding		Let Out		Tenant		Occupation
	Occupation	A.R. P.	A.R. P.		Name		
+Pryor Reid & Co.		0.0.12	0.0.12		Mrs C.Williams		Hoops beershop
+Mrs L.Thurgood		0.1.2	0.0.13		G.J.Winterton		tailor

NOTE:

- ** Acres, roods and perches.
- + denotes absentee landlord
- * denotes large landowner

Source : Lloyd George 1910 Domesday Survey.

TABLE 78.--Landlords of craftsmen and tradesmen, St. Paul's Walden, 1910.

=====					
Landlord Name	Occupation	Holding A. R.P.	Let Out A. R.P.	Tenant ** Name	Occupation
=====					
*Viscount Hampden (Lord Dacre)		1317.2.16	n/a	George Ansell F.Ewington	shopkeeper/carrier blacksmith/shopkeeper miller
+Maria Eldred, Welwyn		4.1.4	271.1.13 0.0.22	J.F.Fooley V.Goldhawk	builder
+Mrs W.I.Eldred, Baldock		0.0.18	0.0.10	George Ansell	shopkeeper/carrier
+F.Cray, Stevenage		0.0.6	0.0.4	A.Arnold	bootmaker
+McMullen Ltd		2.0.25	0.0.3	A.Arnold	bootmaker
			0.1.29	Charles Ayliffe	Maidens Head pub
			0.2.5	Jeremiah Boreham	The Lamb beer shop
			0.1.2	Richard Sell	beer shop
			0.0.20	Henry Thompson	White Hart pub
			0.3.9	Joseph Titmuss	beer shop
*Earl Strathmore		766.0.22	0.0.9	Frank Cato	harnessmaker
			20.0.1	George Freeman	publican
			1.2.21	Henderson Woodman	beershop
			203.3.2	J.F.Fooley	miller
+Mary Ann Eldred		0.0.22	0.0.10	F.Ewington	blacksmith/shopkeeper
+Glover & Son Ltd		0.0.14	0.0.14	William Knight	Fox beershop
+W.&S.Lucas Ltd., Hitchin		4.2.37	2.3.38	William Lines	publican
			0.3.10	Joseph Waller	Eagle & Child
			0.2.16	James White	Pig & Whistle
			0.1.13	Mark Lunnis	Bull Inn
+F.W.Archer, Hitchin		5.3.18	0.0.12	Sarah Orsman	draper
			0.0.17	Ellen Ansell	butcher
Charlotte Sheaf		0.0.36	0.0.6	William Pates	baker
+Sarah Eldred		0.0.34	0.0.34	Charles Roberts	blacksmith
+Mrs Royce, Leeds		0.2.1	0.1.34	A.J.Robinson	tailor/postmaster
+Pryor Reid & Co.		0.2.25	0.2.25	John Scrase	Swan pub
+Harriet Davis		0.1.14	0.1.14	Jesse Ward	hawker

TABLE 78.--Continued.

=====					
Landlord Name	Occupation	Holding A. R.P.	Let Out A. R.P.	Tenant ** Name	Occupation
W.F.Dalton	farmer	2.3.31	0.0.5	Albert Whitbread	butcher

NOTE:
** Acres, roods and perches.
+ denotes absentee landlord
* denotes large landowner
Source: Lloyd George 1910 Domesday Survey.

CONCLUSIONS

The research on which this thesis is based set out to explore the validity of the widely-accepted view that rural self-sufficiency declined in Victorian England. This belief seems to rest on four basic assertions: (1) that local independence or self-sufficiency was the norm prior to, and probably persisting into the nineteenth century; (2) that the number of self-sufficient villages decreased progressively during the nineteenth century; (3) that the range of village-based trades and crafts declined, or became changed in form, during the same period.¹ Moreover, as first mentioned in Chapter 1, it can be argued that (4) village self-sufficiency is itself an indicator of rural prosperity. Thus the aim of this final concluding chapter is to bring together our findings, and to place our conclusions on these central issues into a meaningful context. Clearly, there is also the need to consider the role/nature of rural self-sufficiency as a symbol, or surrogate indicator, as to the buoyancy or otherwise of rural life.

All the research findings presented below emerge despite the somewhat indifferent documentary sources that are available to the researcher on nineteenth-century rural communities. In this research programme, these sources have been examined closely and carefully evaluated (in Chapter 4) before they have been 'mined' for information. The evidence

¹ This is implicit in Mingay's analysis in G. E. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, Vol. 1, 8, quoted in Chapter 1, p. 4.

gleaned from the sources has been corroborated, where possible, through cross-references, to obtain meaningful results.

As we have seen, the concept of rural self-sufficiency has several aspects--spatial, economic, and social probably being the most important. A range of different analytical approaches is associated with each of these research traditions, and each methodology, in turn, has validity in terms of particular scales of study. For example, the spatial approaches used by geographers are usually conducted at a macro level, involving a defined study area, often composed of clusters of settlements, localities and regions. At the other extreme, studies of individual craftsmen and tradesmen are more appropriately carried out at the micro level, within the local community, so that the social and economic functions of the rural service provider can be understood within the context of the particular village community. Thus the research findings are based on analytical work conducted at three different levels of study, each being directly linked to a specific aspect of rural self-sufficiency.

There now follows a summary of the research findings contained in the body of the thesis.

The settlement geography of Hertfordshire is analysed in Chapter 5. From the outset, it was essential to establish the hierarchy of towns, sub-towns and villages as a

prerequisite to the core research of the themes developed in the chapters that follow.

Chapters 6 and 7 comprise a geographical study of self-sufficient villages. This is a macro-level study of the entire county of Hertford, and includes an analysis of the distribution of essential rural crafts and trades (in Chapter 6). The other craft and trade occupations commonly found in rural areas are dealt with in Chapter 7. Trade directories and the decennial census reports have been used to obtain data on occupational structures in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire. Drawing on these key sources, the spatial distribution of self-sufficient villages has been related to the settlement geography within the county.

Rural self-sufficiency and its developmental stages

In Chapter 6, three different expressions of self-sufficiency have been identified and linked directly to the chronological sequence of developmental stages.

The first phase is the state of household independence. Because many crafts and trades were carried out in individual households, self-sufficiency in this form was manifested by relatively poorly developed craft specialisation. Evidently, a key prerequisite was access to, or occupation of, land. At village level the dominant indicator of this initial phase is the presence of a small range of specialised crafts, but few, if any, retail premises.

The second developmental phase is characterised by the presence of a few specialised craftsmen, at least: one blacksmith or farrier, a carpenter or wheelwright, and a boot or shoe maker. Also, for the first time, a small number of retail outlets are evident, at least a grocer or general shopkeeper, and a beer shop or public house. Taken together, all these crafts and trades were essential for the provision of necessary day-to-day goods and services to the local community. Either these functions were available locally, or they could be discharged at short notice. Thus, although individual households are no longer independent of other households, the village as a whole can be regarded as self-sufficient in the local supply of all essential goods and services. These criteria have been adopted as representing the essential features as to what is meant by self-sufficiency in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire.

Finally, in the third major stage, the erosion of self-sufficiency begins to occur as a village community loses one or more of its essential crafts or trades.

The research findings show that, according to the definitions, as stated above, substantial proportions of Hertfordshire villages remained self-sufficient throughout much of the nineteenth century. The analysis shows that more Hertfordshire villages were self-sufficient in 1878 than either in 1855 or in 1902.

It is tempting to link these findings to fluctuations in agricultural prosperity, but it is now clear that the

change in the number of self-sufficient villages in the period 1855 to 1878 may have been due to forces of change that were markedly different to those operating during the period 1878-1902.

Between the years 1855 and 1878, the rural population of Hertfordshire experienced an increase in absolute numbers, although the proportion of the county's population resident in rural areas declined relative to the town and subtown population (Table 30). Agriculture continued to prosper in the county during most of this period and this was favourable to an increase in the volume of rural service provision, particularly in the crafts and trades that, traditionally, had been integral to the agricultural way of life.

During the period from c.1870-1900, although the population residing in Hertfordshire villages increased slowly, the numbers of those in self-sufficient villages decreased. Also during these years, Hertfordshire experienced a decline in its agricultural prosperity. Moreover, the situation was complicated by the fact that increasing numbers of rail commuters and others with urban lifestyles began to settle in the vicinity of the newly developed railway commuting services. Clearly, the bulk of these new village residents would have had significantly different service needs to those required by the agricultural population: their presence would not have stimulated any new demands for traditional village-based services. Thus, despite the arrival of these new residents,

traditional village-based services contracted. Also, as there was already only one outlet in most villages for the majority of traditional occupations, a decline in service provision could mean the total loss of one or more services to a village, with considerable impact upon the status of the village in terms of self-sufficiency.

In Chapter 7 we saw that employment in the eleven most ubiquitous rural trades and crafts was, in general, sustained throughout the nineteenth century;² and a substantial proportion of villages retained the five basic crafts and trades throughout the century. Indeed, a wide range of crafts and trades was maintained in Hertfordshire's villages, but these also included specific occupations such as 'photographer' or 'hatter', that were more commonly associated with an urban way of life. Predictably, this was in those areas of the county, particularly in the south, and along the railway lines, where suburbanisation was emergent. Some villages persisted with a form of traditional self-sufficiency for longer than others (especially those that retained their agricultural character).

In terms of analytical scales, Chapter 8 is devoted to an intermediate-level study of two agricultural areas, each

² This is also borne out by national trends up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Wrigley has highlighted the 'vigorous expansion' in this period of ten occupations commonly found in rural areas. Nine out of the ten occupations selected by Wrigley (masons were the exception) were among the 11 crafts and trades discussed in detail in this thesis. E.A. Wrigley, 'Men on the Land and Men in the Countryside: Employment in Agriculture in Early-Nineteenth-Century England' in The world we have gained: histories of population and social structure, L. Bonfield, R.M. Smith and K. Wrightson, eds., Basil Blackwell, 1986, 302.

consisting of some 15 or 16 parishes, in the rural north. Trade directories and census enumerators' books constitute the main data sources used in this analysis. These two data sources are evaluated in Chapter 4 where it was found that, while differences occur in the names of individual master or self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen recorded in both these sources, there is very good agreement as to actual numbers and distribution of craftsmen and tradesmen in the 31 parishes as a whole.

In line with Weekley's lateral interdependence model of rural service provision, a geographical approach has been used to determine the predominant systems that had evolved within these two areas and the extent of the changes that occurred over time.³ Villages that retained self-sufficiency as the dominant form of rural service provision are located in the Buntingford area--an area that was economically disadvantaged during the nineteenth century. Conversely, villages in the slightly more prosperous districts around Stevenage experienced a change in their dominant system of rural service provision, a distinctive series of shifts from a strong measure of self-sufficiency in the 1850s towards, by the last decade of the nineteenth century, increased hierarchical dependence. These trends agree closely with Weekley's hypothesis of a chronological progression from village self-sufficiency towards hierarchical dependence, with some lateral interdependence in operation at each stage.

³ I.G. Weekley. 'Lateral interdependence as an aspect of rural service provision: a Northamptonshire case study,' East Midland Geographer, Vol. 6, 1977, 361-374.

Finally, Chapters 9 and 10 report the findings of micro-level studies carried out at parish level. Two rural parishes with substantial populations, and which exhibited the characteristics of the second developmental phase of self-sufficiency, Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden, were selected for detailed examination involving studies of individual craftsmen and tradesmen, household structures, continuity of occupation, patterns of life-time migration, and status in terms of landownership and tenancies. In the analysis, the data sources included trade directories and census enumerators' books. In addition, land tax assessments, tithe surveys and the 'Domesday' Surveys of 1873 and 1910 have been used to work out details as to the landholding status of individuals.

Although the role of village communities as providers of employment is beyond the scope of the research on which this thesis is based, the indications are that farming communities did seem to provide adequate employment for their inhabitants during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. However, after the agricultural depression of the 1870s there are clear indications that increased rates of unemployment and, or, under-employment occurred in many parishes, and, as a consequence, some villagers migrated to other areas in search of employment. We saw in Chapter 9 that, although the numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen were maintained in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden throughout the nineteenth century, there were increased movements in and out of these parishes from the

1870s. As we saw in Chapter 9, there is evidence too, that increased downward social mobility occurred among craftsmen and tradesmen as the century progressed: in a number of cases, sons of craftsmen and tradesmen became agricultural labourers.

From the research, it seems clear that there was no significant evidence in support of the continued existence of household independence in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire. In general, household self-sufficiency or subsistence farming had long ceased to exist before the start of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, there are some signs that in St. Paul's Walden in the first half of the nineteenth century, a few craftsmen and tradesmen retained an involvement in small-scale farming. It must be emphasised, however, that these were in a small minority, and even this small proportion was to decline during the century. If household independence had been the dominant type of rural service provision at village level, this would have been much more evident among members of the craft and trade group (who would have had greater opportunity to acquire land) than amongst the more numerous, and economically poorer, farm worker groups. In Much Hadham, there was no evidence of any significant interest in farming on the part of craftsmen or tradesmen at any time from 1838 to 1910: instead, in this community, it is clear that there was a tradition of specialised craftsmen and tradesmen. It is possible that the second phase of self-sufficiency (self-sufficient village communities), which prevailed in Much Hadham throughout the period, and which stresses the

increasing specialisation of crafts and trades, is incompatible with even a part-time or family interest in farming.

We can now turn to consider the extent to which the research findings confirm or refute generally-held views regarding nineteenth-century rural self-sufficiency.

The evidence from nineteenth-century Hertfordshire casts considerable doubt as to the general validity of some of the more widely-held views concerning the nature of rural self-sufficiency in Victorian England, namely that the three developmental phases described above were experienced by villages in general in this period. Although, as we have seen, rural self-sufficiency eventually disappeared, the process of decline was far more gradual during the nineteenth century than is generally believed. Thus, Mingay's assertion that 'the old independence of the countryside and its near self-sufficiency was whittled away...'⁴ was not true of Hertfordshire in the Victorian period. In fact, the evidence presented in this thesis suggests that, rather than progressing through phase one (household independence) to phase three (erosion of village self-sufficiency), in terms of our definition of rural self-sufficiency, the actual pace of change was much slower. Indeed, it seems clear that the second phase of self-sufficiency persisted in Hertfordshire throughout the nineteenth century.

⁴ Mingay, The Victorian Countryside, 8.

Only very scant evidence has come to light of the first phase of rural self-sufficiency existing in the county during the period. If, indeed, it is assumed that household independence ever existed at all in Hertfordshire on any significant scale, this must have been earlier than in the opening decades of the nineteenth century.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the presence of village shops, in addition to small numbers of specialised craftsmen, constitute the main characteristic of the second phase of rural self-sufficiency. The actual date when retail shops first appeared seems to be a matter of some doubt. Martin has suggested that village shops were a comparatively late innovation, perhaps occurring after the 1830s:

Even as late as 1835, one investigator has said 'every farmhouse, every agricultural labourer's cottage and the habitation of almost every smith, carpenter, mason and wheelwright in the rural districts was more or less a manufacturing establishment'....

The 'shop habit', however, is not proper to the countryside and in contrast to the almost fanatical self-supporting trend of the peasant it has the look of a betrayal.⁵

However, Brown and Ward have argued that the general retail shopkeeper, including grocers, was present in the majority of villages much earlier, certainly by 1830.⁶ Moreover, Mui and Mui indicate an even earlier date for the

⁵ E.W. Martin, The Secret People: English Village Life After 1750, Phoenix House Ltd, London, 1934, 200-2.

⁶ J. Brown and S. Ward, The Village Shop, Rural Development Commission in association with Cameron & Hollis and David & Charles, 1990, 13.

first appearance of the village shop: they assert that, for eighteenth-century villagers, 'the local shop was a convenience and a necessity.'⁷

Similarly, public houses were present in villages well before 1830. In fact, for example, Chartres asserts that 'the village innkeeper, beerseller, or publican was a long-established feature of country life, and may have been the earliest of the retail trades to diffuse [down] to that level.'⁸

If Mui and Mui, and Chartres, are correct, then grocer/shopkeepers and public houses were present in a significant proportion of villages during the eighteenth century. Therefore, it seems clear that these villages were beginning to experience the second phase of rural self-sufficiency long before the start of the Victorian period. The findings from Hertfordshire reinforce this conclusion: there was very little evidence for the presence of household independence (phase one of our definition) during the nineteenth century in the villages investigated, and it seems that both public houses and shops were well-established in Hertfordshire villages before the start of the nineteenth century. So, it does seem that village self-sufficiency, characterised by the presence of essential craftsmen and a few shops, had probably become the dominant

⁷ H.C. Mui and L. Mui, Shops and shopkeeping in eighteenth-century England, London: Routledge, 1989, 157.

⁸ J.A. Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen' in G.E. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, 303.

type of rural service provision in Hertfordshire in the 'pre-industrial' conditions of the eighteenth century.

This thesis also casts some doubts as to the general validity of previous statements concerning the timing and character of the erosion of rural self-sufficiency. As we have seen in Chapter 8, the villages that retained their agricultural character also retained many of their traditional craftsmen and tradesmen; villages that underwent a measure of transformation, due to the influx of a non-agricultural, 'adventitious' population, attracted craftsmen and tradesmen who fulfilled the local needs arising from a more urban lifestyle. Indeed, in general, Hertfordshire's villages tended to possess a greater range of craftsmen and tradesmen in 1902 than in 1855, although there was a slight decrease in the actual number of business outlets (See Tables 127 and 129, Appendix 2). Even as late as 1902, almost two-thirds of Hertfordshire rural dwellers lived in self-sufficient villages. Thus, from the viewpoint of the villager, self-sufficiency was an essential feature of village life throughout much of the nineteenth century.

There is no doubt that traditional, village-based craftsmen and tradesmen experienced reduced economic opportunities during the nineteenth century. However, the detailed findings for Hertfordshire differed from what seem to have been the unsubstantiated observations of contemporary observers and historians writing of other regions. For example, it was untrue of Hertfordshire that

'the village tailor disappeared.'⁹ Although the numbers of tailors did decline in rural Hertfordshire during the nineteenth century, they were still to be found in rural areas as late as 1902, albeit in reduced numbers. Similarly, it does not seem to have been valid, as Springall has claimed, that 'the village shopkeeper suffered more than anyone.'¹⁰ In fact, the proportions of rural grocer/draper/shopkeepers remained surprisingly stable in the rural population throughout the century. Also, as regards the position of craftsmen, the Hertfordshire evidence seems to refute the assertion (describing the situation in neighbouring Essex) that 'the first businesses to go were those run by the small independent craftsmen.'¹¹ In the 31 parishes dealt with in the research discussed in Chapter 8, the numbers of craft outlets did not seem to have declined relative to the retail outlets, nor, indeed, in concentrations per head of rural population. Indeed, in areas that retained their rural characters, the majority of traditional craft outlets increased relative to the population towards the end of the century. Thus, in the Buntingford area, the most agricultural, and most economically disadvantaged, region in the county, the concentrations of craft and trade outlets actually increased relative to the population, and self-sufficiency persisted for a longer period of time as the dominant system of rural

⁹ L.M. Springall, Labouring life in Norfolk villages, 1834-1914, Allen & Unwin, 1936, 96-97. The context of this quotation is shown on page 129.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ J. Robin, Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village: 1861-1964, Cambridge University Press, 1980, 132. The context of this quotation is shown on page 130.

service provision. This calls into question the view that rural self-sufficiency is a valid indicator of rural prosperity. In fact, the evidence for Hertfordshire suggests that the reverse may well be the case, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The apparent continuity of craft and trade businesses in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire does not conform to observations made of other regions. Springall has suggested that in Norfolk:

The older generation of village tradesmen and artisans carried on and made both ends meet with the help of some subsidiary employment, such as cultivating a piece of land, but when they died their sons did not succeed them, for they had left the parish.¹²

Robin has also claimed that:

A major change over the period was the disappearance of what were essentially family businesses in which members of the family were absorbed until saturation point was reached.¹³

Instead, as we have seen from the evidence analysed in this dissertation, it is clear that craftsmen and tradesmen did not engage extensively in small-scale farming at any time during the nineteenth century. Indeed, the evidence suggests increased specialisation of the craft and trade occupations, rather than the reverse. This is revealed in the reduced incidence of multiple occupations recorded in the census enumerators' books from 1871 to 1891 (Tables 49

¹² L.M. Springall, Labouring life, 96-97. The context of this quotation is shown on page 129.

¹³ J. Robin, Continuity and change, 132.

and 52). Clearly, in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire, it was still possible to earn a livelihood on a full-time basis in a village-based craft or trade occupation. Conversely, in any case, as a sort of counter-balance to these findings, we need to remember that the 1870s agricultural depression might have had the effect of reducing opportunities for small-scale farming in conjunction with some other occupation such as a craft or trade. Also to be noted is that small-scale farming on a part-time basis might not have been a viable supplementary occupation for craftsmen and tradesmen--or, indeed, anyone else!--during the later decades of the nineteenth century.

The in-depth studies of long-established craftsmen and traders (i.e. those recorded in five successive censuses) in the parishes of Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden reveal that the majority of children in craft and trade households, whose employment is recorded, were returned with the same occupation as their fathers, or in a craft or trade of a similar status. ...Therefore, all the evidence suggests that family businesses did continue, albeit on a reduced scale. Moreover, although some out-migration of craft and trade children from Much Hadham did occur, especially towards the end of the century, this was markedly greater in the parish of Much Hadham than in St. Paul's Walden, suggesting that increased out-migration of members of craft and trade households was by no means a general pattern throughout the county.

A possible reason for the differing conclusions regarding the loss of village self-sufficiency is perhaps due to too close a focus on just one or two single villages. The specific village communities selected for detailed examination may indeed turn out to be unrepresentative of conditions that were more widespread. Further complications may stem from the general unreliability and inconsistency of the various data sources. In particular, this implies that conclusions regarding the incidence of multiple occupations, as well as the continuity of specific occupations, must be regarded as tentative. The detailed studies of Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden involve a methodology that can be replicated elsewhere, in other specific villages. But we must remember that such approaches cannot easily be applied to a larger area, such as the whole county, because they reflect specific local conditions.

It is manifestly obvious that rural self-sufficiency declined in England, but the foregoing discussion indicates that it is incorrect to assert that this occurred on a large scale, embracing every location and village community, throughout the whole of England during the nineteenth century. Clearly, the findings from this analysis of conditions in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire indicate that rural self-sufficiency declined at different rates at specific locations and that the generalised statements of historians are, in themselves, inappropriate.

The general validity of in-depth studies of specific
communities

Although the research upon which this thesis is based focused mainly on nineteenth-century Hertfordshire, a number of comparisons with other counties and regions in England have been made. These comparisons are of value in revealing the extent to which the crafts and trades, deemed to be essential in Hertfordshire, were also considered to be essential elsewhere: and that their incidence was independent of local differences of settlement geography and types of farming. For example, the rank order of the threshold populations of the eleven most essential crafts and trades in nineteenth-century Hertfordshire, discussed in Chapter 8, was found to be similar in both nineteenth-century Norfolk and the North Riding of Yorkshire.¹⁴

But, where such close comparisons did not occur is also of considerable interest, because such differences between Hertfordshire and other counties point to patterns of rural service provision that reflected specific local or regional conditions. For example, in Dorset, unemployed farmworkers were attracted into the service sector, with consequent overcrowding, whereas, in Hertfordshire, in contrast, unemployed farmworkers tended to migrate out of the county to London. Clearly, regional location and settlement

¹⁴ J.A. Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen', 301; and J.A. Chartres and G.L. Turnbull, 'Country Craftsmen' in Victorian Countryside, 316.

geography seem to have had a significant impact on the nature of local rural service provision.¹⁵

Twentieth-century systems and nineteenth-century conditions
of community interaction

Comparisons between twentieth-century systems of social interaction in rural communities and nineteenth-century conditions are also useful in assessing perceptions and descriptions of village self-sufficiency in different areas and different periods. It could be argued that local patterns of social behaviour contain many more important symbols than economic behaviour. MacGregor, for example, investigated social interaction in villages in the 1970s and found that this exhibits a form of self-sufficiency.¹⁶ MacGregor's definition of village self-sufficiency is not based on the idea of individual village self-sufficiency as described in this thesis. Rather, in her interpretation, self-sufficiency relates to the fact that groups of villages organised social functions which have relied for their success upon reciprocal participation of neighbouring villages and, on occasion, even small towns. Examples of the social functions involved include a cricket team, a traction engine rally and dances at village halls--activities which could not succeed without support from outside the host village, to which, however, they are symbolically attached, helping it to maintain its own separate social identity within the regional community.

¹⁵ See, for example, B. Kerr, Bound to the soil: A social history of Dorset 1750-1918, John Baker, 1968, 133.

¹⁶ M. MacGregor, 'The rural culture' in New Society, 9 March 1972, 486-9.

Patterns of modern rural social interaction function as a form of lateral interdependence--as MacGregor stated, 'It's you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours.'¹⁷ Evidently, the links between the specific villages among which these social events take place may turn out to be historical in nature, dating back perhaps to the nineteenth century or even earlier. Thus it may well be that the inter-village links stemming from the provision of services in the nineteenth century may have laid down the interaction pathways between villages in the twentieth century. Conversely, as the example of villages in the Stevenage area in the period 1850/51 and 1890/91 has shown (in Chapter 8), relationships and links between villages can, and do, change over time. Therefore, it would be unwise to assume that such functional links can be regarded as static in historical terms. Indeed, there are clear signs that some service villages had potential to emerge as social centres, which, in turn, can be taken as suggesting a measure of hierarchical dependence. In these respects, it does seem that some centres providing services in the nineteenth century may have emerged in the twentieth century--indeed, into our own times, as centres providing social activities--a provision that has supplanted the earlier economic services in the local community.

MacGregor's example of a social interaction system involving lateral interdependence and hierarchical dependence suggests that these two forms of interdependency

¹⁷ Ibid.

are more sustainable over time, and over several decades of changing economic conditions, than a system in which individual villages functioned as self-sufficient entities. Again, this conclusion is somewhat at variance with the view of traditional historians that self-sufficiency within specific communities was the norm.

There are a number of close links between the notion of self-sufficiency, the idea of 'community' and concepts of rurality. As established in Chapter 5, rurality is difficult to define because the concept has different meanings for different times and places. A twentieth-century definition of rurality is wholly inappropriate to nineteenth-century conditions. Similarly, because of changing patterns of service provision, employment and social networks, twentieth-century notions of village self-sufficiency are unsuitable to the contexts that existed in the nineteenth-century. Thus rural self-sufficiency, like rurality, must be regarded as a function of time and place.

Some methodological considerations

While recognising the specific time context as to what is meant by 'rural self-sufficiency', in the research programme several concepts and definitions were kept constant. Of these, the classification of settlements in Hertfordshire and the criteria that define the second phase of self-sufficiency are of considerable significance and importance.

In Chapter 5, a standard approach has been adopted for the classification of Hertfordshire's towns, subtowns and

villages and this classification has been applied throughout the century. Thus, although some market towns experienced loss of their only active market during the century¹⁸ these settlements were still regarded as having the status, in central place terms, of market towns throughout the nineteenth century. Similarly, although all the subtowns only fulfilled Law's criteria as being of urban status¹⁹ for part of the century, these settlements have been treated separately from the villages. These procedures are operational requirements that are necessary for comparisons to be made over time. The underlying objectives have been to examine the extent to which different categories of rural settlements were able to provide the local service that satisfied basic day-to-day requirements, independently of the towns. For these reasons, it was a conscious decision to separate out urban centres from the villages and all those smaller settlements that were overwhelmingly rural in nature throughout the nineteenth century. Obviously, this approach tends to obscure the changing status and role of the nearby towns. Although of considerable intrinsic interest and importance, clearly the role of urban centres--the traditional central places--lay outside the frame of the research programme.

Persistence and survival of local craftsmen and tradesmen

As has been mentioned in substantive chapters, the activities and skills of such essential crafts as

¹⁸ This was true of Stevenage and Baldock.

¹⁹ C.M. Law, 'The growth of urban population in England and Wales, 1801-1911', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol, 41, June 1967, 125-129.

blacksmith/farrier, carpenter/wheelwright and bootmaker/shoemaker changed markedly during the nineteenth century. Yet, on the other hand, there remained important apparently static elements in the criteria that have been used to identify the second stage of rural self-sufficiency, that is, community rather than household independence.

The justification for keeping these definitions of self-sufficiency constant is the fact that the basic requirements of individual villagers did not change significantly during the nineteenth century: in short, village-based craftsmen were required to provide support services for agriculture, transport, communications, and country people in general, throughout the century. Whilst the precise nature of the services that they provided changed, the essential nature of their functions remained relatively much the same over time.

This can be illustrated by the ways in which local blacksmiths responded to changing demands on their traditional skills and services. Thus, for instance, throughout the nineteenth century, local transport remained largely horse-based and continued to require the traditional services of the blacksmith. But, in addition, as bicycles became increasingly prevalent from the 1870s, the local blacksmith provided services of maintenance and repair. Accordingly, many blacksmiths diversified, becoming cycle agents and repairers, whilst retaining their traditional role and functions in the community.

Blacksmiths also provided essential services to agriculture--especially as the makers of agricultural implements and equipment. With the advent of threshing machines and other more sophisticated agricultural machinery which had been manufactured by town-based companies in factory-based workshops, additional services were required of the blacksmith. Rather than just remaining the maker of agricultural implements, the blacksmith often now became a local agent for the town-based manufacturers of the new agricultural machinery. In effect, this meant that, increasingly, the blacksmith now needed to be a mechanic, repairing and maintaining the machinery for the local farmers. Thus, the rise of factory-made products did not take from the blacksmith his essential function of rendering direct support to rural transport and to the local farming community.

Similarly, changes in the nature of the vehicles used for rural transportation were to bring significant changes. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, wheelwrights constructed and repaired wagons and carts that had been crafted to suit local needs, conditions, and tastes. During the course of the century, increasingly farmers purchased ready-made vehicles that the local wheelwright was then called on to maintain and to keep in working order. Alternatively, sometimes the wheelwright changed from making agricultural vehicles to making trade vans and carts. Thus, like the blacksmith, the wheelwright and his craft survived changing circumstances by adaptation to changing local demand for his services.

Similarly, the needs of country people for adequate footwear continued to be partially fulfilled by the village bootmaker, but his or her livelihood often changed from being a maker of boots and shoes to becoming merely that of a boot repairer. Increasingly, towards the end of the century, villagers were able to obtain cheaper items of mass-produced footwear from nearby towns.

The situation as regards the publican and the grocer/shopkeeper, is less apparent. One may safely assume that the public house (or ale house) discharged much the same functions throughout the period. Moreover, the broad range of services provided by the village shopkeeper--keeping in stock items not produced in the village, and extending credit to local families--in all likelihood persisted throughout the century, although the items available for purchase appear to have changed markedly during the period. Indeed, as transport and communications improved towards the end of the century, the range of goods available at the village shop included, in addition to such items as tea, sugar, salt and drapery: nationally-available branded goods such as Huntley & Palmer's biscuits, Cadbury's chocolate, and Pear's soap.²⁰

Although their skills and activities changed during the century, the occupational labels of these craftsmen and tradesmen remained the same. Moreover, it can be argued that the dependence of villagers on their services continued

²⁰ J. Brown and S. Ward, The Village Shop, 15.

and, indeed, because of changes in their functions, dependency may have increased. The definition of village self-sufficiency adapted for the purposes of this research may appear to be somewhat overtly static in nature, and it does mask details as to the way in which the service activities of rural craftsmen and tradesmen changed over time. Nevertheless, it continued to reflect accurately the general demands they fulfilled.

In addition to being a function of time and place, as mentioned above, village self-sufficiency meant different things to different people. Twentieth-century observers tend to adopt a somewhat backward-looking view, mainly, it is suspected, because they had an idealised view of village communities in past times. In other words, what they described is more in the nature of a symbol of rural self-sufficiency rather than its substance: in short, their interpretations cannot be substantiated by the evidence analysed in this thesis. For example, Mingay's statement²¹ is an assertion about rural self-sufficiency in the most generalised of terms--a statement made without the support of the available quantitative data. Moreover, the related notion that village self-sufficiency is a reflection of rural prosperity relates to the general symbolic aspect of rural self-sufficiency, rather than to its substance as it existed in reality and its evolution with changing conditions.

²¹ Quoted on page 4 of this dissertation.

From the point of view of the villager, the range of services provided locally was accepted and taken for granted as, indeed, were the changes that occurred over time. So, in reality, as this research programme has revealed, the so-called withering away of rural self-sufficiency during the Victorian period turns out to be something of an illusion.

In general terms, hitherto, the concept of rural self-sufficiency has been somewhat imprecise; and, in this respect, it very much resembles the notion of 'community'. In this research programme, an attempt has been made to define more explicitly the idea of self-sufficiency in terms of the rural service provision experienced by country people in Hertfordshire in the period from the 1830s to 1902. As a result, we have seen how, although numbers of rural craftsmen and tradesmen were by and large maintained, the services discharged by these rural service providers changed during the course of the century in response to changes in local demand for day-to-day services. The continued survival of rural craftsmen and tradesmen, despite reduced demand for their traditional services, is a reflection of their adaptability and their ability to acquire new skills in order to discharge new services within the local community.

The evidence suggests that the generalised statements made by some historians and other commentators, implying that craftsmen and tradesmen provided only traditional

services, many of which were eroded due to new technologies and changing local demand, are misleading. It appears that the widely-accepted beliefs regarding the nature of rural self-sufficiency are based, in part, on unsubstantiated assumptions as to the desirable characteristics of English rural life--both in the past and in the twentieth century. These generalised beliefs and assumptions should now be reviewed in the light of the new evidence presented in this dissertation.

In particular, the research findings have cast considerable new light on a hitherto relatively neglected area in research--the important position of rural craftsmen and tradesmen within the context of the rural community--a key aspect of the distinctive nature of rural social structures in the nineteenth century. Also, much has been revealed as to the functional service framework that shaped the nature of rural culture in Victorian England.

This research project has been, as all programmes of this nature must be, an empirical study. Its emphasis has been on rural Hertfordshire in the nineteenth century--a county within the hinterland of London. Although one suspects that the regional context and location have had much influence on the county in many ways, these are not easily discernible in studies focusing on specific villages and craftsmen and tradesmen within the county itself. Clearly, in order to establish the extent to which the research findings presented here are representative of villages in other regions and counties, more comparative

studies must be undertaken in other rural areas.

Inevitably, regional location, as well as locality, provided the frame of reference within which rural craftsmen and tradesmen functioned. Does this important factor of regional location mean that other rural communities in other counties might show distinctively different patterns of rural self-sufficiency? We shall never know for sure until these further comparative studies are undertaken.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTERS 4 AND 8.

Tables 79 to 84 contain data derived from the Board of Trade Abstract of Schedules for Returns of Crops, 1866 (P.R.O. Ref. MAF 68/32). This source is evaluated in Chapter 4. Tables 79 and 80 present evidence that the most widely grown crop, in terms of area under cultivation, in both study areas, was wheat, closely followed by barley. The data from Tables 81 to 84 are used in Chapter 8 to confirm statistically that the selected villages in the Stevenage and Buntingford areas were similar in their agricultural activity.

TABLE 79.--Agricultural Statistics: Parish Summaries, 1866.
Acreage under crops. Stevenage area.

Parish	1	2	3	4
Aston	495.00	464.50	154.50	
Ayot St. Peter	274.75	320.75	182.75	
Codicote	586.00	481.00	292.50	1.00
Datchworth	686.75	711.26	235.50	
Graveley	377.43	282.51	155.27	7.00
Great Wymondley	318.50	208.25	46.00	
Hitchin	1373.13	1198.54	518.09	2.00
Ippollitts	1015.90	900.26	345.63	
Kings Walden	793.25	768.75	534.00	2.00
Knebworth	388.00	291.50	170.00	
Letchworth	310.00	306.00	192.00	
Little Wymondley	312.00	311.50	104.50	
Offley	1827.50	1875.00	1063.00	
St. Pauls Walden	701.50	783.00	422.50	
Shephall	239.00	266.00	58.00	
Stevenage	1028.50	970.00	416.00	1.00
Walkern	577.98	609.35	161.06	
Welwyn	726.10	689.75	160.25	
Weston	935.50	772.50	359.00	
Total	12966.79	12210.42	5570.55	13.00

KEY TO COLUMNS

- 1 Acreage under wheat.
- 2 Acreage under barley.
- 3 Acreage under oats.
- 4 Acreage under rye.

TABLE 80.--Agricultural Statistics: Parish Summaries, 1866
Acreage under crops. Buntingford area.

Parish	1	2	3	4
Albury	725.00	964.00	555.50	
Anstey	250.50	283.00	101.50	10.00
Aspenden	257.00	151.76	59.50	
Barkway	1380.25	2195.00	410.50	5.00
Barley	574.00	633.50	134.50	11.00
Braughing	1073.50	879.00	211.00	
Brent Pelham	307.00	235.00	68.00	
Buckland	254.00	120.00	64.00	30.00
Furneux Pelham	438.59	474.24	33.50	2.00
Great Hornead	485.50	264.04	82.50	16.00
Layston	203.89	181.00	34.00	
Little Hadham	1039.25	958.75	338.25	
Little Hornead	46.00	34.00	10.00	
Meesden	225.00	222.50	64.50	
Much Hadham	1282.75	741.50	570.25	4.00
Sandon	747.50	839.00	249.75	
Standon	2127.65	2657.63	401.61	4.00
Therfield	808.75	800.00	233.75	7.75
Throcking	190.00	187.50	60.00	
Thundridge	635.42	640.13	235.50	
Westmill	772.20	364.35	229.93	47.00
Wyddial	248.72	241.84	43.91	
Total	14071.97	14067.74	4191.95	136.75

KEY TO COLUMNS

- 1 Acreage under wheat.
- 2 Acreage under barley.
- 3 Acreage under oats.
- 4 Acreage under rye.

TABLE 81.--Agricultural Statistics: Parish Summaries, 1866
Acreage under crops. Stevenage area.

Parish	1	2	3	4	5
Aston	2073	2514.20	1114.00	877.92	522.27
Ayot St. Peter	1093	1520.50	778.25	407.75	334.50
Codicote	2531	2816.88	1360.50	894.00	562.38
Datchworth	1960	3482.42	1633.51	1059.06	789.84
Graveley	1838	1442.76	822.20	249.31	371.25
Great Wymondley	1491	1310.25	572.75	421.50	316.00
Hitchin	6420	6318.91	3091.76	2060.59	1166.56
Ippollitts	2936	4409.80	2261.79	1221.51	926.50
Kings Walden	4392	4907.75	2098.00	1934.75	875.00
Knebworth	2737	1741.50	849.50	583.50	308.50
Little Wymondley	1007	1919.00	728.00	701.00	490.00
Offley	5515	8899.50	4765.50	2787.50	1346.50
St. Pauls Walden	3720	4165.00	1907.00	1493.50	764.50
Shephall	1156	1563.00	563.00	667.00	333.00
Stevenage	4545	5466.63	2415.50	1911.25	1139.88
Walkern	2992	2888.04	1348.39	996.15	543.50
Welwyn	3081	3321.93	1576.10	1075.83	670.00
Weston	4530	3911.25	2067.00	881.75	962.50
Total	54017	62599.31	29952.75	20223.89	12422.67

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- 1 Parish acreage, 1801 Census
- 2 Estimated acreage, 1866.
- 3 Total cereal acreage.
- 4 Total grass acreage.
- 5 Total acreage under other crops.

TABLE 82.--Agricultural Statistics: Parish Summaries, 1866
Acreage under crops. Buntingford area.

Parish	1	2	3	4	5
Albury	3248	5024.50	2244.50	1521.50	1258.50
Anstey	2150	1451.13	645.00	522.75	283.38
Aspenden	1407	923.74	468.26	259.97	195.51
Barkway	5211	6986.25	3990.75	1683.00	1312.50
Barley	2725	2804.75	1353.00	733.50	718.25
Braughing	4368	5383.70	2163.50	1990.20	1230.00
Buckland	1629	963.00	468.00	302.00	193.00
Great Hornead	1919	2034.93	848.04	951.41	235.48
Layston	2242	1160.64	418.89	544.00	197.75
Little Hadham	3082	4754.25	2336.25	1474.50	943.50
Little Hornead	1067	258.00	90.00	128.00	40.00
Much Hadham	4490	5720.75	2598.50	1686.00	1436.25
Sandon	4061	4021.00	1836.25	1373.25	811.50
Standon	7745	11944.25	5190.89	4296.25	2457.11
Therfield	4833	3803.50	1850.25	1010.25	943.00
Throcking	910	1097.00	437.50	478.00	181.50
Thundridge	2206	3430.43	1511.04	1261.28	658.11
Westmill	2207	2853.55	1413.48	1114.21	325.86
Wyddial	1224	1237.53	534.47	497.81	205.25
Total	56724	65852.90	30398.56	21827.88	13626.46

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- 1 Parish acreage, 1801 Census
- 2 Estimated acreage, 1866.
- 3 Total cereal acreage.
- 4 Total grass acreage.
- 5 Total acreage under other crops.

TABLE 83.--Agricultural Statistics: Parish Summaries, 1866
Proportion of area under crops. Stevenage area.

Parish	1	2	3	4	5
Aston	2073	2514.20	0.443	0.349	0.208
Ayot St. Peter	1093	1520.50	0.512	0.268	0.220
Codicote	2531	2816.88	0.483	0.317	0.200
Datchworth	1960	3482.42	0.469	0.304	0.227
Graveley	1838	1442.76	0.570	0.173	0.257
Great Wymondley	1491	1310.25	0.437	0.322	0.241
Hitchin	6420	6318.91	0.489	0.326	0.185
Ippollitts	2936	4409.80	0.513	0.277	0.210
Kings Walden	4392	4907.75	0.427	0.394	0.178
Knebworth	2737	1741.50	0.488	0.335	0.177
Little Wymondley	1007	1919.00	0.379	0.365	0.255
Offley	5515	8899.50	0.535	0.313	0.151
St. Pauls Walden	3720	4165.00	0.458	0.359	0.184
Shephall	1156	1563.00	0.360	0.427	0.213
Stevenage	4545	5466.63	0.442	0.350	0.209
Walkern	2992	2888.04	0.467	0.345	0.188
Welwyn	3081	3321.93	0.474	0.324	0.202
Weston	4530	3911.25	0.528	0.225	0.246
Total	54017	62599.31	0.478	0.323	0.198

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- 1 Parish acreage, 1801 Census.
- 2 Estimated acreage, 1866.
- 3 Proportion under cereals.
- 4 Proportion under grass.
- 5 Proportion under other crops.

TABLE 84.--Agricultural Statistics: Parish Summaries, 1866
Proportion of area under crops. Buntingford area.

Parish	1	2	3	4	5
Albury	3248	5024.50	0.447	0.303	0.250
Anstey	2150	1451.13	0.444	0.360	0.195
Aspenden	1407	923.74	0.507	0.281	0.212
Barkway	5211	6986.25	0.571	0.241	0.188
Barley	2725	2804.75	0.482	0.262	0.256
Braughing	4368	5383.70	0.402	0.370	0.228
Buckland	1629	963.00	0.486	0.314	0.200
Great Hornead	1919	2034.93	0.417	0.468	0.116
Layston	2242	1160.64	0.361	0.469	0.170
Little Hadham	3082	4754.25	0.491	0.310	0.198
Little Hornead	1067	258.00	0.349	0.496	0.155
Much Hadham	4490	5720.75	0.454	0.295	0.251
Sandon	4061	4021.00	0.457	0.342	0.202
Standon	7745	11944.25	0.435	0.360	0.206
Therfield	4833	3803.50	0.486	0.266	0.248
Throcking	910	1097.00	0.399	0.436	0.165
Thundridge	2206	3430.43	0.440	0.368	0.192
Westmill	2207	2853.55	0.495	0.390	0.114
Wyddial	1224	1237.53	0.432	0.402	0.166
Total	56724	65852.90	0.462	0.331	0.207

KEY TO COLUMNS:

- 1 Parish acreage, 1801 Census.
- 2 Estimated acreage, 1866.
- 3 Proportion under cereals.
- 4 Proportion under grass.
- 5 Proportion under other crops.

Tables 85 to 126 below contain details of the numbers of master or self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen recorded in the census enumerators' books for 1851 and 1891 and Kelly's Directories for 1850 and 1890 and the details of nominal record linkage between the two sources. Eleven occupations were selected for this detailed analysis. These data were used to calculate threshold populations for the selected occupations and to assess the incidence of multiple occupations.

TABLE 85.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850
Numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	10	7	7	3	0
Ayot St. Peter	7	6	3	4	3
Codicote	28	27	24	4	3
Datchworth	10	12	8	2	4
Graveley	5	3	1	4	2
Great Wymondley	1	1	1	0	0
Ippollitts	9	5	4	5	1
Kings Walden	7	4	1	6	3
Knebworth	3	3	1	2	2
Little Wymondley	6	6	6	0	0
Offley	8	8	8	0	0
*Shephall	3	3	2	1	1
St.Pauls Walden	21	23	18	3	5
Walkern	17	17	14	3	3
Welwyn	45	52	34	11	18
Weston	18	16	11	7	5
Total	198	193	143	55	50
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	12	10	9	3	1
*Anstey	7	9	6	1	3
*Barkway	32	32	23	9	9
Barley	12	15	11	1	4
*Braughing	25	21	14	11	7
*Buckland	8	12	7	1	5
*Great Hadham	21	24	16	5	8
Great Hornead	13	16	9	4	7
*Little Hadham	10	13	8	2	5
*Little Hornead	0	1	0	0	1
*Sandon	16	20	13	3	7
Standon	53	48	34	19	14
Therfield	19	19	15	4	4
Thundridge	15	15	13	2	2
*Westmill	3	2	0	3	2
Total	246	257	178	68	79
Total (n=31)	444	450	321	123	129

* denotes parish with population decline in 1841/51.

TABLE 86.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850.
All Trades

Craft/Trade	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Builder/Bricklayer	5	7	3	2	4
Wheelwright/Carpenter	29	23	19	10	4
Victualler/Beer seller etc.	61	57	27	34	30
Saddler/Harness maker etc.	2	3	2	0	1
Miller	8	9	7	1	2
Grocer/Draper/Shopkeeper	33	45	26	7	19
Butcher	11	11	9	2	2
Boot/Shoe maker/Cordwainer	19	16	15	4	1
Blacksmith	18	16	14	4	2
Baker	14	15	12	2	3
Tailor	11	9	8	3	1
Total	211	211	142	69	69
Buntingford area, n=15					
Builder/Bricklayer	8	7	4	4	3
Wheelwright/Carpenter	37	31	26	11	5
Victualler/Beer seller etc.	81	90	56	25	34
Saddler/Harness maker etc.	8	7	5	3	2
Miller	10	15	8	2	7
Grocer/Draper/Shopkeeper	30	49	28	2	21
Butcher	15	15	11	4	4
Boot/Shoe maker/Cordwainer	30	22	16	14	6
Blacksmith	19	22	15	4	7
Baker	10	13	9	1	4
Tailor	15	10	9	6	1
Total	263	281	187	76	94
Both areas, n=31					
Builder/Bricklayer	13	14	7	6	7
Wheelwright/Carpenter	66	54	45	21	9
Victualler/Beer seller etc.	142	147	83	59	64
Saddler/Harness maker etc.	10	10	7	3	3
Miller	18	24	15	3	9
Grocer/Draper/Shopkeeper	63	94	54	9	40
Butcher	26	26	20	6	6
Boot/Shoe Maker/Cordwainer	49	38	31	18	7
Blacksmith	37	38	29	8	9
Baker	24	28	21	3	7
Tailor	26	19	17	9	2
Total	474	492	329	145	163

TABLE 87.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850
Builders/Bricklayers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	1	0	1	1
Codicote	1	1	1	0	0
Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
Kings Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
Little Wymondley	1	0	0	1	0
Offley	0	0	0	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Walkern	1	1	1	0	0
Welwyn	0	2	0	0	2
Weston	1	2	1	0	1
Total	5	7	3	2	4
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	1	0	0	1	0
*Anstey	0	0	0	0	0
*Barkway	2	1	1	1	0
Barley	1	1	1	0	0
*Braughing	1	0	0	1	0
*Buckland	0	1	0	0	1
*Great Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
Great Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Hadham	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	2	1	1	1	0
Standon	0	2	0	0	2
Therfield	0	0	0	0	0
Thundridge	0	0	0	0	0
*Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	8	7	4	4	3
Total (n=31)	13	14	7	6	7

* denotes parish with population decline in 1841/51

TABLE 88.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850.
Carpenters/Wheelwrights

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	1	1	1	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	0	0	1	0
Codicote	6	4	4	2	0
Datchworth	2	3	2	0	1
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
Kings Walden	1	0	0	1	0
Knebworth	1	0	0	1	0
Little Wymondley	0	1	0	0	1
Offley	3	3	3	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	5	2	2	3	0
Walkern	2	2	2	0	0
Welwyn	5	5	3	2	2
Weston	2	2	2	0	0
Total	29	23	19	10	4
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	3	1	1	2	0
*Anstey	2	1	1	1	0
*Barkway	4	3	3	1	0
Barley	1	1	1	0	0
*Braughing	2	1	1	1	0
*Buckland	2	3	2	0	1
*Great Hadham	2	2	1	1	1
Great Hornead	2	3	2	0	1
*Little Hadham	3	2	2	1	0
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	3	3	3	0	0
Standon	7	6	5	2	1
Therfield	5	3	3	2	0
Thundridge	1	1	1	0	0
*Westmill	0	1	0	0	1
Total	37	31	26	11	5
Total (n=31)	66	54	45	21	9

* denotes parish with population decline in 1841/51

TABLE 89.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850.
Wheelwrights in one or more occupational descriptions.

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	1	1	1	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	2	2	2	0	0
Datchworth	1	1	1	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
Kings Walden	1	0	0	1	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
Little Wymondley	0	1	0	0	0
Offley	1	1	1	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	3	1	1	2	0
Walkern	1	1	1	0	0
Welwyn	2	2	2	0	0
Weston	2	2	2	0	0
Total	14	12	11	3	0
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	1	1	1	0	0
*Anstey	2	1	1	1	0
*Barkway	1	1	1	0	0
Barley	1	1	1	0	0
*Braughing	1	1	1	0	0
*Buckland	1	2	1	0	1
*Great Hadham	0	0	0	0	0
Great Hornead	0	1	0	0	1
*Little Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	2	2	2	0	0
Standon	3	4	3	0	1
Therfield	1	1	1	0	0
Thundridge	1	1	1	0	0
*Westmill	0	1	0	0	1
Total	15	18	14	1	4
Total (n=31)	29	30	25	4	4

* denotes parish with population decline in 1841/51

TABLE 90.--A comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850.
Publican/Innkeeper/Victualler/Beer retailer

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	5	2	2	3	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	1	0	1	1
Codicote	5	8	5	0	3
Datchworth	4	5	3	1	2
Graveley	2	1	0	2	1
Great Wymondley	1	1	1	0	0
Ippollitts	5	1	1	4	0
Kings Walden	4	1	0	4	1
Knebworth	2	2	1	1	1
Little Wymondley	2	2	2	0	0
Offley	1	2	1	0	1
*Shephall	1	1	0	1	1
St.Pauls Walden	5	5	3	2	2
Walkern	5	2	1	4	1
Welwyn	12	20	7	5	13
Weston	6	3	0	6	3
Total	61	57	27	34	30
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	3	3	3	0	0
*Anstey	4	3	2	2	1
*Barkway	11	13	9	2	4
Barley	5	6	4	1	2
*Braughing	9	7	5	4	2
*Buckland	3	4	2	1	2
*Great Hadham	7	6	4	3	2
Great Hornead	2	5	2	0	3
*Little Hadham	3	3	2	1	1
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	7	8	4	3	4
Standon	15	20	10	5	10
Therfield	5	6	4	1	2
Thundridge	5	6	5	0	1
*Westmill	2	0	0	2	0
TOTAL	81	90	56	25	34
Total (n=31)	142	147	83	59	64

* denotes parish with population decline in 1841/51

TABLE 91.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850.
Named Public Houses

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	1	1	1	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	1	0	0	1
Codicote	5	7	5	0	2
Datchworth	3	5	3	0	2
Graveley	0	1	0	0	1
Great Wymondley	1	1	1	0	0
Ippollitts	1	1	1	0	0
Kings Walden	0	1	0	0	1
Knebworth	1	2	1	0	1
Little Wymondley	2	2	2	0	0
Offley	1	2	1	0	1
*Shephall	0	1	0	0	1
St.Pauls Walden	3	5	3	0	2
Walkern	0	1	0	0	1
Welwyn	5	9	5	0	4
Weston	0	3	0	0	3
Total	23	43	23	0	20
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	3	3	3	0	0
*Anstey	2	3	2	0	1
*Barkway	8	8	8	0	0
Barley	1	2	1	0	1
*Braughing	3	5	3	0	2
*Buckland	3	4	3	0	1
*Great Hadham	1	2	1	0	1
Great Hornead	2	5	2	0	3
*Little Hadham	2	2	2	0	0
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	2	4	2	0	2
Standon	9	16	9	0	7
Therfield	1	2	1	0	1
Thundridge	5	6	5	0	1
*Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	42	62	42	0	20
Total (n=31)	65	105	65	0	40

* denotes parish with population decline in 1841/51

There were no named public houses in the census.

Table 91 therefore shows the numbers of named public house proprietors listed in Kelly who also appeared in the census.

TABLE 92.--A Comparison of 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850.
Saddlers/Harness makers/Collar makers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	0	0	0	0	0
Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
Kings Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Offley	0	0	0	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
Walkern	0	1	0	0	1
Welwyn	1	1	1	0	0
Weston	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	3	2	0	1
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	0	0	0	0	0
*Anstey	0	0	0	0	0
*Barkway	1	1	1	0	0
Barley	0	0	0	0	0
*Braughing	1	0	0	1	0
*Buckland	0	0	0	0	0
*Great Hadham	2	2	2	0	0
Great Hornead	0	1	0	0	1
*Little Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	0	0	0	0	0
Standon	1	1	0	1	1
Therfield	1	1	1	0	0
Thundridge	1	0	0	1	0
*Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	8	7	5	3	2
Total (n=31)	10	10	7	3	3

* denotes parish with population decline 1841/51

TABLE 93.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850.
Millers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	1	1	1	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	1	0	0	1
Codicote	2	3	2	0	1
Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	1	0	0	1	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
Kings Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Offley	0	0	0	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
Walkern	1	1	1	0	0
Welwyn	1	1	1	0	0
Weston	1	1	1	0	0
Total	8	9	7	1	2
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	0	0	0	0	0
*Anstey	1	2	1	0	1
*Barkway	2	2	2	0	0
Barley	0	0	0	0	0
*Braughing	1	3	0	1	3
*Buckland	0	0	0	0	0
*Great Hadham	0	1	0	0	1
Great Hornead	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Hadham	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	0	1	0	0	1
Standon	2	2	1	1	1
Therfield	1	1	1	0	0
Thundridge	2	2	2	0	0
*Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	15	8	2	7
Total (n=31)	18	24	15	3	9

* denotes parish with population decline in 1841/51

TABLE 94.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850.
Grocer/Draper/Shopkeeper

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	2	2	2	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	3	1	0	2
Codicote	3	4	3	0	1
Datchworth	1	3	1	0	2
Graveley	0	1	0	0	1
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	1	3	1	0	2
Kings Walden	3	3	1	2	2
Knebworth	1	1	0	1	1
Little Wymondley	1	1	1	0	0
Offley	1	1	1	0	0
*Shephall	1	1	1	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	4	7	4	0	3
Walkern	5	4	4	1	0
Welwyn	7	8	5	2	3
Weston	2	3	1	1	2
Total	33	45	26	7	19
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	3	3	3	0	0
*Anstey	2	3	2	0	1
*Barkway	4	7	4	0	3
Barley	1	3	1	0	2
*Braughing	2	3	2	0	1
*Buckland	2	3	2	0	1
*Great Hadham	2	4	2	0	2
Great Hornead	3	5	3	0	2
*Little Hadham	2	5	2	0	3
*Little Hornead	0	1	0	0	1
*Sandon	1	3	1	0	2
Standon	5	6	4	1	2
Therfield	1	2	1	0	1
Thundridge	2	1	1	1	0
*Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	30	49	28	2	21
Total (n=31)	63	94	54	9	40

* denotes parishes with population decline in 1841/51

TABLE 95.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850.
Male Grocer/Draper/Shopkeepers.

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	2	2	2	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	3	1	0	2
Codicote	2	3	2	0	1
Datchworth	1	3	1	0	2
Graveley	0	1	0	0	1
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	1	3	1	0	2
Kings Walden	3	3	1	2	2
Knebworth	1	1	0	1	1
Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Offley	1	1	1	0	0
*Shephall	1	1	1	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	3	6	3	0	3
Walkern	3	3	3	0	0
Welwyn	6	7	4	2	3
Weston	2	2	1	1	1
Total	27	39	21	6	18
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	2	2	2	0	0
*Anstey	1	2	1	0	1
*Barkway	4	6	4	0	2
Barley	1	3	1	0	2
*Braughing	2	3	2	0	1
*Buckland	1	1	1	0	0
*Great Hadham	1	3	1	0	2
Great Hornead	2	4	2	0	2
*Little Hadham	2	4	2	0	2
*Little Hornead	0	1	0	0	1
*Sandon	1	2	1	0	1
Standon	3	4	3	0	1
Therfield	1	2	1	0	1
Thundridge	2	1	1	1	0
*Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	23	38	22	1	16
Total (n=31)	50	77	43	7	34

* denotes parish with population decline 1841/51

TABLE 96.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850
Female Shopkeepers/Grocers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	1	1	1	0	0
Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
Kings Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
Little Wymondley	1	1	1	0	0
Offley	0	0	0	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
Walkern	2	1	1	1	0
Welwyn	1	1	1	0	0
Weston	0	1	0	0	1
Total	6	6	5	1	1
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	1	1	1	0	0
*Anstey	1	1	1	0	0
*Barkway	0	1	0	0	1
Barley	0	0	0	0	0
*Braughing	0	0	0	0	0
*Buckland	1	2	1	0	1
*Great Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
Great Hornead	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Hadham	0	1	0	0	1
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	0	1	0	0	1
Standon	2	2	1	1	1
Therfield	0	0	0	0	0
Thundridge	0	0	0	0	0
*Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	7	11	6	1	5
Total (n=31)	13	17	11	2	6

* denotes parish with population decline 1841/51

TABLE 97.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850
Butchers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	1	1	0	0
Codicote	3	2	2	1	0
Datchworth	1	0	0	1	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
Kings Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Offley	1	1	1	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	1	2	1	0	1
Walkern	0	0	0	0	0
Welwyn	3	4	3	0	1
Weston	1	1	1	0	0
Total	11	11	9	2	2
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	1	2	1	0	1
*Anstey	0	0	0	0	0
*Barkway	1	1	1	0	0
Barley	1	1	1	0	0
*Braughing	2	1	1	1	0
*Buckland	0	1	0	0	1
*Great Hadham	1	2	1	0	1
Great Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	1	1	1	0	0
Standon	3	2	1	2	1
Therfield	1	1	1	0	0
Thundridge	2	2	2	0	0
*Westmill	1	0	0	1	0
Total	15	15	11	4	4
Total (n=31)	26	26	20	6	6

* denotes parish with declining population in 1841/51

TABLE 98.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850
Boot/Shoe maker/Cordwainer

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	0	0	1	0
Codicote	5	4	4	1	0
Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
Kings Walden	0	1	0	0	1
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
Little Wymondley	1	1	1	0	0
Offley	1	1	1	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
Walkern	1	1	1	0	0
Welwyn	7	6	6	1	0
Weston	2	1	1	1	0
Total	19	16	15	4	1
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	0	0	0	0	0
*Anstey	1	0	0	1	0
*Barkway	4	3	3	1	0
Barley	1	2	1	0	1
*Braughing	4	3	2	2	1
*Buckland	1	1	1	0	0
*Great Hadham	2	2	2	0	0
Great Hornead	4	2	0	4	2
*Little Hadham	1	2	1	0	1
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	1	1	1	0	0
Standon	8	3	3	5	0
Therfield	1	1	1	0	0
Thundridge	2	2	1	1	1
*Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	30	22	16	14	6
Total (n=31)	49	38	31	18	7

* denotes parish with population decline in 1841/51

TABLE 99.--A Comparison of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1850
Blacksmith/Farrier

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	1	1	1	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	2	2	2	0	0
Datchworth	1	1	1	0	0
Graveley	1	1	1	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
Kings Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
Little Wymondley	1	1	1	0	0
Offley	1	1	1	0	0
*Shephall	1	1	1	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	2	2	2	0	0
Walkern	1	1	0	1	1
Welwyn	4	4	3	1	1
Weston	3	1	1	2	0
Total	18	16	14	4	2
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	2	1	1	1	0
*Anstey	1	2	1	0	1
*Barkway	1	0	0	1	0
Barley	1	1	1	0	0
*Braughing	2	2	2	0	0
*Buckland	0	2	0	0	2
*Great Hadham	2	2	2	0	0
Great Hornead	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	1	3	1	0	2
Standon	4	4	3	1	1
Therfield	2	1	1	1	0
Thundridge	1	1	1	0	0
*Westmill	0	1	0	0	1
Total	19	22	15	4	7
Total (n=31)	37	38	29	8	9

* denotes parish with declining population in 1841/51

TABLE 100.--A Comparison of 1851 Census Enumerators' Books
and Kelly's Directory, 1850
Bakers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	3	3	3	0	0
Datchworth	1	1	1	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	2	2	2	0	0
Kings Walden	1	0	0	1	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Offley	0	2	0	0	2
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
St. Pauls Walden	2	2	1	1	1
Walkern	2	2	2	0	0
Welwyn	2	2	2	0	0
Weston	1	1	1	0	0
Total	14	15	12	2	3
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	0	0	0	0	0
*Anstey	0	0	0	0	0
*Barkway	2	3	2	0	1
Barley	0	0	0	0	0
*Braughing	1	2	1	0	1
*Buckland	0	1	0	0	1
*Great Hadham	2	2	2	0	0
Great Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Hadham	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	0	1	0	0	1
Standon	4	3	3	1	0
Therfield	0	0	0	0	0
Thundridge	1	1	1	0	0
*Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	13	9	1	4
Total (n=31)	24	28	21	3	7

* denotes parish with declining population in 1841/51

TABLE 101.--A Comparison of 1851 Census Enumerators' Books
and Kelly's Directory, 1850
Tailors

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	1	1	0	0
Codicote	1	1	0	1	1
Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Ippollitts	1	1	1	0	0
Kings Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
Offley	0	0	0	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
Walkern	1	1	1	0	0
Welwyn	4	2	2	2	0
Weston	2	2	2	0	0
Total	11	9	8	3	1
Buntingford area, n=15					
Albury	1	0	0	1	0
*Anstey	0	0	0	0	0
*Barkway	2	1	1	1	0
Barley	1	1	1	0	0
*Braughing	2	0	0	2	0
*Buckland	0	0	0	0	0
*Great Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
Great Hornead	1	2	1	0	1
*Little Hadham	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	0	0	0	0	0
Standon	4	3	3	1	0
Therfield	2	2	2	0	0
Thundridge	1	0	0	1	0
*Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	15	10	9	6	1
Total (n=31)	26	19	17	9	2

* denotes parish with population decline in 1841/51

TABLE 104.--Stevenage and Buntingford areas combined. Dual occupations, Kelly's Directory, 1851, All Parishes.

=====													
Grocer Pub Smith Builder Shoemkr Miller Tailor Saddler Baker Butcher Carp/ww													
Grocer	69	7											
Pub	7	105	6	2	2	2	2	2	5	3	1		
Blacksmith		6	28							4	6		
Builder		2		10							4		
Shoemkr		2			36								
Miller		2				13			1		1		
Tailor	2	2					15						
Saddler								10					
Baker	5	1				1			20		1		
Butcher	3	4								18			
Carp/ww	1	6	4						1		37		
Farmer	1	3		1		8				1	2		
Others	6	7		1							2		
Total	94	147	38	14	38	24	19	10	28	26	54		

TABLE 106.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Numbers of craftsmen and tradesmen

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	14	11	10	4	1
Ayot St. Peter	3	5	2	1	3
Codicote	33	37	25	8	12
*Datchworth	10	10	6	4	4
Graveley	8	9	4	4	5
Great Wymondley	4	3	1	3	2
*Ippollitts	12	15	6	6	9
*Kings Walden	31	23	15	16	8
Knebworth	5	7	2	3	5
*Little Wymondley	9	7	5	4	2
*Offley	26	19	12	14	7
*Shephall	2	3	2	0	1
*St.Pauls Walden	27	24	19	8	5
*Walkern	23	23	16	7	7
*Welwyn	44	49	31	13	18
*Weston	22	20	14	8	6
Total	273	265	170	103	95
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	12	13	11	1	2
*Anstey	10	12	6	4	6
*Barkway	27	30	21	6	9
*Barley	21	18	12	9	6
*Braughing	26	27	24	2	3
*Buckland	7	8	5	2	3
*Great Hadham	26	25	15	11	10
*Great Hornead	18	20	13	5	7
*Little Hadham	17	19	13	4	6
Little Hornead	1	1	1	0	0
*Sandon	24	20	17	7	3
Standon	66	44	26	40	18
*Therfield	22	16	13	9	3
*Thundridge	8	7	7	1	0
Westmill	6	6	2	4	4
Total	291	266	186	105	80
Total (n=31)	564	531	356	208	175

* denotes parish with population decline in 1881/91

TABLE 107.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
All Trades

Craft/Trade	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Builder/Bricklayer	21	11	9	12	2
Wheelwright/Carpenter	27	24	14	13	10
Victualler/Beer seller etc.	79	111	58	21	53
Saddler/Harness maker etc.	4	5	4	0	1
Miller	6	8	6	0	2
Grocer/Draper/Shopkeeper	66	50	34	32	16
Butcher	12	9	6	6	3
Boot/Shoe maker/Cordwainer	30	19	16	14	3
Blacksmith	20	23	15	5	8
Baker	19	21	12	7	9
Tailor	8	5	4	4	1
Total	292	286	178	114	108
Buntingford area, n=15					
Builder/Bricklayer	23	19	15	8	4
Wheelwright/Carpenter	37	22	15	22	7
Victualler/Beer seller etc.	94	106	68	26	38
Saddler/Harness maker etc.	8	7	5	3	2
Miller	8	8	6	2	2
Grocer/Draper/Shopkeeper	48	55	35	13	20
Butcher	22	16	12	10	4
Boot/Shoe maker/Cordwainer	27	18	13	14	5
Blacksmith	19	17	14	5	3
Baker	19	17	13	6	4
Tailor	7	4	3	4	1
Total	312	289	199	113	90
Both areas, n=31					
Builder/Bricklayer	44	30	24	20	6
Wheelwright/Carpenter	64	46	29	35	17
Victualler/Beer seller etc.	173	217	126	47	91
Saddler/Harness Maker etc.	12	12	9	3	3
Miller	14	16	12	2	4
Grocer/Draper/Shopkeeper	114	105	69	45	36
Butcher	34	25	18	16	7
Boot/Shoe maker/Cordwainer	57	37	29	28	8
Blacksmith	39	40	29	10	11
Baker	38	38	25	13	13
Tailor	15	9	7	8	2
Total	604	575	377	227	198

TABLE 108.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Builders/Bricklayers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	2	0	0	2	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	1	0	0	1
Codicote	3	3	2	1	1
*Datchworth	2	1	1	1	0
Graveley	1	0	0	1	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Ippollitts	1	0	0	1	0
*Kings Walden	1	0	0	1	0
Knebworth	2	1	1	1	0
*Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Offley	0	0	0	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
*Walkern	3	2	2	1	0
*Welwyn	3	2	2	1	0
*Weston	2	0	0	2	0
Total	21	11	9	12	2
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	1	1	1	0	0
*Anstey	0	0	0	0	0
*Barkway	2	2	1	1	1
*Barley	2	2	1	1	1
*Braughing	1	1	1	0	0
*Buckland	1	0	0	1	0
*Great Hadham	3	3	3	0	0
*Great Hornead	3	2	2	1	0
*Little Hadham	1	2	1	0	1
Little Hornead	1	1	1	0	0
*Sandon	1	1	1	0	0
Standon	6	4	3	3	1
*Therfield	1	0	0	1	0
*Thundridge	0	0	0	0	0
Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	23	19	15	8	4
Total (n=31)	44	30	24	20	6

* denotes parish with population decline in 1881/91

TABLE 109.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Carpenters/Wheelwrights

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	1	1	1	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	2	2	2	0	0
*Datchworth	1	0	0	1	0
Graveley	0	1	0	0	1
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Ippollitts	2	1	0	2	1
*Kings Walden	6	3	3	3	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Wymondley	3	2	1	2	1
*Offley	4	3	2	2	1
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	2	2	2	0	0
*Walkern	1	2	0	1	2
*Welwyn	0	4	0	0	4
*Weston	5	3	3	2	0
TOTAL	27	24	14	13	10
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	2	1	1	1	0
*Anstey	1	1	1	0	0
*Barkway	1	2	0	1	2
*Barley	6	2	2	4	0
*Braughing	3	3	3	0	0
*Buckland	3	2	1	2	1
*Great Hadham	2	1	0	2	1
*Great Hornead	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Hadham	3	3	2	1	1
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	4	3	3	1	0
Standon	5	1	0	5	1
*Therfield	3	1	1	2	0
*Thundridge	1	0	0	1	0
Westmill	2	1	0	2	1
Total	37	22	15	22	7
Total (n=31)	64	46	29	35	17

* denotes parish with population decline in 1881/91

TABLE 110.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Wheelwrights in one or more occupational descriptions

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	1	1	1	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	1	1	1	0	0
*Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
*Kings Walden	2	2	2	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Wymondley	1	1	0	1	1
*Offley	1	1	1	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	2	2	2	0	0
*Walkern	0	1	0	0	1
*Welwyn	0	1	0	0	1
*Weston	3	3	3	0	0
Total	11	13	10	1	3
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	1	0	0	1	0
*Anstey	0	0	0	0	0
*Barkway	1	1	0	1	1
*Barley	2	2	2	0	0
*Braughing	1	1	1	0	0
*Buckland	1	1	0	1	1
*Great Hadham	1	1	0	1	1
*Great Hornead	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Hadham	2	2	2	0	0
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	2	1	1	1	0
Standon	1	1	0	1	1
*Therfield	0	0	0	0	0
*Thundridge	0	0	0	0	0
Westmill	0	1	0	0	1
Total	13	12	7	6	5
Total (n=31)	24	25	17	7	8

* denotes parish with population decline in 1881/91

TABLE 111.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Publican/Innkeeper/Victualler/Beer retailer

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	6	6	5	1	1
Ayot St. Peter	1	1	1	0	0
Codicote	11	12	7	4	5
*Datchworth	4	6	2	2	4
Graveley	2	4	1	1	3
Great Wymondley	2	2	1	1	1
*Ippollitts	5	7	4	1	3
*Kings Walden	5	11	3	2	8
Knebworth	1	2	0	1	2
*Little Wymondley	2	2	2	0	0
*Offley	7	7	3	4	4
*Shephall	1	2	1	0	1
*St.Pauls Walden	9	11	7	2	4
*Walkern	3	8	3	0	5
*Welwyn	12	20	12	0	8
*Weston	8	10	6	2	4
Total	79	111	58	21	53
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	5	5	4	1	1
*Anstey	2	5	1	1	4
*Barkway	9	14	8	1	6
*Barley	6	8	4	2	4
*Braughing	11	10	10	1	0
*Buckland	3	4	3	0	1
*Great Hadham	8	8	3	5	5
*Great Hornead	4	6	4	0	2
*Little Hadham	4	5	4	0	1
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	8	10	8	0	2
Standon	23	20	10	13	10
*Therfield	6	5	4	2	1
*Thundridge	4	4	4	0	0
Westmill	1	2	1	0	1
Total	94	106	68	26	38
Total (n=31)	173	217	126	47	91

* denotes parish with population decline in 1881/91

TABLE 112.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Named Public Houses

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	2	3	2	0	1
Ayot St. Peter	1	1	1	0	0
Codicote	5	6	5	0	1
*Datchworth	2	4	2	0	2
Graveley	0	1	0	0	1
Great Wymondley	1	1	1	0	0
*Ippollitts	1	2	1	0	1
*Kings Walden	1	2	1	0	1
Knebworth	0	2	0	0	2
*Little Wymondley	2	2	2	0	0
*Offley	1	3	1	0	2
*Shephall	1	2	1	0	1
*St.Pauls Walden	4	5	4	0	1
*Walkern	1	2	1	0	1
*Welwyn	7	9	7	0	2
*Weston	2	2	2	0	0
Total	31	47	31	0	16
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	1	1	1	0	0
*Anstey	0	1	0	0	1
*Barkway	4	5	4	0	1
*Barley	3	4	3	0	1
*Braughing	5	7	5	0	2
*Buckland	2	3	2	0	1
*Great Hadham	1	3	1	0	2
*Great Horstead	3	4	3	0	1
*Little Hadham	4	5	4	0	1
Little Horstead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	4	4	4	0	0
Standon	10	15	10	0	5
*Therfield	2	2	2	0	0
*Thundridge	3	3	3	0	0
Westmill	1	1	1	0	0
Total	43	58	43	0	15
Total (n=31)	74	105	74	0	31

* denotes parish with population decline in 1881/91
There were no named public houses in the census.
This table therefore shows the numbers of named public house proprietors listed in Kelly who also appeared in the census.

TABLE 113.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Saddlers/Harness makers/Collar makers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	1	1	1	0	0
*Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
*Kings Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Offley	0	0	0	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
*Walkern	1	1	1	0	0
*Welwyn	1	2	1	0	1
*Weston	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	5	4	0	1
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	1	1	1	0	0
*Anstey	0	0	0	0	0
*Barkway	0	1	0	0	1
*Barley	0	0	0	0	0
*Braughing	0	0	0	0	0
*Buckland	0	0	0	0	0
*Great Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
*Great Hornead	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Hadham	0	1	0	0	1
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	0	0	0	0	0
Standon	2	1	1	1	0
*Therfield	2	1	1	1	0
*Thundridge	0	0	0	0	0
Westmill	1	0	0	1	0
Total	8	7	5	3	2
Total (n=31)	12	12	9	3	3

* denotes parish with population decline 1881/91

TABLE 114.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Millers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	0	1	0	0	1
*Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	1	0	0	1
*Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
*Kings Walden	1	1	1	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Offley	1	1	1	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
*Walkern	1	1	1	0	0
*Welwyn	1	1	1	0	0
*Weston	1	1	1	0	0
Total	6	8	6	0	2
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	0	1	0	0	1
*Anstey	1	1	1	0	0
*Barkway	1	1	1	0	0
*Barley	0	0	0	0	0
*Braughing	1	2	1	0	1
*Buckland	0	0	0	0	0
*Great Hadham	0	0	0	0	0
*Great Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	0	0	0	0	0
Standon	2	1	1	1	0
*Therfield	0	0	0	0	0
*Thundridge	1	1	1	0	0
Westmill	1	0	0	1	0
Total	8	8	6	2	2
Total (n=31)	14	16	12	2	4

* denotes parish with population decline in 1881/91

TABLE 115.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Grocer/Draper/Shopkeeper

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	3	2	2	1	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	2	0	1	2
Codicote	8	7	6	2	1
* Datchworth	3	4	3	0	1
Graveley	2	2	1	1	1
Great Wymondley	2	0	0	2	0
* Ippollitts	3	0	0	3	0
* Kings Walden	8	5	4	4	1
Knebworth	1	1	0	1	1
* Little Wymondley	2	2	1	1	1
* Offley	9	4	3	6	1
* Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
* St.Pauls Walden	8	4	3	5	1
* Walkern	5	5	5	0	0
* Welwyn	7	9	5	2	4
* Weston	4	3	1	3	2
Total	66	50	34	32	16
Buntingford area, n=15					
* Albury	2	2	2	0	0
* Anstey	3	2	2	1	0
* Barkway	4	6	3	1	3
* Barley	2	3	2	0	1
* Braughing	6	7	6	0	1
* Buckland	2	2	2	0	0
* Great Hadham	2	4	1	1	3
* Great Hornead	5	7	4	1	3
* Little Hadham	4	2	2	2	0
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
* Sandon	5	3	2	3	1
Standon	7	10	3	4	7
* Therfield	5	5	5	0	0
* Thundridge	0	0	0	0	0
Westmill	1	2	1	0	1
Total	48	55	35	13	20
Total (n=31)	114	105	69	45	36

* denotes parishes with population decline in 1881/91

TABLE 116.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Male Grocer/Draper/Shopkeepers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	1	1	1	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	2	0	0	2
Codicote	6	6	5	1	1
*Datchworth	2	2	2	0	0
Graveley	2	1	1	1	0
Great Wymondley	2	0	0	2	0
*Ippollitts	2	0	0	2	0
*Kings Walden	5	3	2	3	1
Knebworth	0	1	0	0	1
*Little Wymondley	2	2	1	1	1
*Offley	5	3	2	3	1
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	5	3	2	3	1
*Walkern	5	5	5	0	0
*Welwyn	5	7	4	1	3
*Weston	3	2	1	2	1
Total	45	38	26	19	12
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	1	1	1	0	0
*Anstey	3	2	2	1	0
*Barkway	3	4	2	1	2
*Barley	2	3	2	0	1
*Braughing	5	6	5	0	1
*Buckland	2	2	2	0	0
*Great Hadham	1	4	1	0	3
*Great Hornead	3	6	3	0	3
*Little Hadham	2	1	1	1	0
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	4	3	2	2	1
Standon	2	7	1	1	6
*Therfield	5	5	5	0	0
*Thundridge	0	0	0	0	0
Westmill	1	1	1	0	0
Total	34	45	28	6	17
Total (n=31)	79	83	54	25	29

* denotes parish with population decline 1881/91

TABLE 117.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Female Grocer/Draper/Shopkeepers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	2	1	1	1	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	0	0	1	0
Codicote	2	1	1	1	0
*Datchworth	1	2	1	0	1
Graveley	0	1	0	0	1
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Ippollitts	1	0	0	1	0
*Kings Walden	3	2	2	1	0
Knebworth	1	0	0	1	0
*Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Offley	4	1	1	3	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	3	1	1	2	0
*Walkern	0	0	0	0	0
*Welwyn	2	2	1	1	1
*Weston	1	1	0	1	1
Total	21	12	8	13	4
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	1	1	1	0	0
*Anstey	0	0	0	0	0
*Barkway	1	2	1	0	1
*Barley	0	0	0	0	0
*Braughing	1	1	1	0	0
*Buckland	0	0	0	0	0
*Great Hadham	1	0	0	1	0
*Great Hornead	2	1	1	1	0
*Little Hadham	2	1	1	1	0
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	1	0	0	1	0
Standon	5	3	2	3	1
*Therfield	0	0	0	0	0
*Thundridge	0	0	0	0	0
Westmill	0	1	0	0	1
Total	14	10	7	7	3
Total (n=31)	35	22	15	20	7

* denotes parish with population decline 1881/91

TABLE 118.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Butchers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	0	1	0	0	1
*Datchworth	1	1	1	0	0
Graveley	2	1	1	1	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
*Kings Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Knebworth	1	1	1	0	0
*Little Wymondley	1	0	0	1	0
*Offley	1	1	0	1	1
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
*Walkern	1	1	1	0	0
*Welwyn	4	2	1	3	1
*Weston	0	0	0	0	0
Total	12	9	6	6	3
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	1	1	1	0	0
*Anstey	1	1	1	0	0
*Barkway	3	3	3	0	0
*Barley	2	1	1	1	0
*Braughing	2	2	2	0	0
*Buckland	0	1	0	0	1
*Great Hadham	3	2	2	1	0
*Great Hornead	1	0	0	1	0
*Little Hadham	1	2	1	0	1
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	2	0	0	2	0
Standon	5	1	1	4	0
*Therfield	1	0	0	1	0
*Thundridge	0	1	0	0	1
Westmill	0	1	0	0	1
Total	22	16	12	10	4
Total (n=31)	34	25	18	16	7

* denotes parish with declining population in 1881/91

TABLE 119.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Boot/Shoe maker/Cordwainer

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	1	1	1	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	1	0	0	1
Codicote	6	4	4	2	0
*Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Ippollitts	1	1	1	0	0
*Kings Walden	6	2	2	4	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Offley	3	1	1	2	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	2	2	1	1	1
*Walkern	3	1	1	2	0
*Welwyn	6	5	4	2	1
*Weston	2	1	1	1	0
Total	30	19	16	14	3
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury					
*Anstey	1	0	0	1	0
*Barkway	4	3	3	1	0
*Barley	2	1	1	1	0
*Braughing	2	2	2	0	0
*Buckland	0	0	0	0	0
*Great Hadham	2	2	2	0	0
*Great Hornead	2	2	1	1	1
*Little Hadham	1	2	1	0	1
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	4	2	2	2	0
Standon	6	2	1	5	1
*Therfield	3	2	0	3	2
*Thundridge	0	0	0	0	0
Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	27	18	13	14	5
Total (n=31)	57	37	29	28	8

* denotes parish with population decline in 1881/91

TABLE 120.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Blacksmith/Farrier

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
=====					
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	1	1	1	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	1	1	1	0	0
Codicote	2	2	2	0	0
*Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	1	1	1	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Ippollitts	1	2	0	1	2
*Kings Walden	2	1	1	1	0
Knebworth	0	2	0	0	2
*Little Wymondley	1	1	1	0	0
*Offley	2	2	2	0	0
*Shephall	1	1	1	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
*Walkern	2	2	2	0	0
*Welwyn	3	4	2	1	2
*Weston	2	2	0	2	2
Total	20	23	15	5	8
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	1	1	1	0	0
*Anstey	1	1	0	1	1
*Barkway	1	1	1	0	0
*Barley	1	1	1	0	0
*Braughing	3	2	2	1	0
*Buckland	1	0	0	1	0
*Great Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
*Great Hornead	1	2	1	0	1
*Little Hadham	1	1	1	0	0
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	2	2	2	0	0
Standon	4	2	2	2	0
*Therfield	1	1	1	0	0
*Thundridge	1	1	1	0	0
Westmill	0	1	0	0	1
Total	19	17	14	5	3
Total (n=31)	39	40	29	10	11

* denotes parish with declining population in 1881/91

TABLE 121.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Bakers

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	2	2	0	2	2
*Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	1	1	1	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Ippollitts	2	4	1	1	3
*Kings Walden	3	1	1	2	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Offley	1	1	1	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	0	1	0	0	1
*Walkern	5	5	4	1	1
*Welwyn	4	4	3	1	1
*Weston	1	2	1	0	1
Total	19	21	12	7	9
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	0	0	0	0	0
*Anstey	0	1	0	0	1
*Barkway	2	2	2	0	0
*Barley	1	1	0	1	1
*Braughing	2	3	2	0	1
*Buckland	0	0	0	0	0
*Great Hadham	2	2	2	0	0
*Great Hornead	1	0	0	1	0
*Little Hadham	0	0	0	0	0
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	1	1	1	0	0
Standon	6	4	3	3	1
*Therfield	3	2	2	1	0
*Thundridge	1	1	1	0	0
Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	19	17	13	6	4
Total (n=31)	38	38	25	13	13

* denotes parish with declining population in 1881/91

TABLE 122.--A Comparison of the 1891 Census Enumerators' Books and Kelly's Directory, 1890
Tailors

Parish	Census Masters (1)	Kelly Masters (2)	Matched Pairs (3)	Census Unmatched (4)	Kelly Unmatched (5)
Stevenage area, n=16					
Aston	0	0	0	0	0
Ayot St. Peter	0	0	0	0	0
Codicote	2	2	1	1	1
*Datchworth	0	0	0	0	0
Graveley	0	0	0	0	0
Great Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Ippollitts	0	0	0	0	0
*Kings Walden	0	0	0	0	0
Knebworth	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Wymondley	0	0	0	0	0
*Offley	0	0	0	0	0
*Shephall	0	0	0	0	0
*St.Pauls Walden	1	1	1	0	0
*Walkern	1	0	0	1	0
*Welwyn	3	1	1	2	0
*Weston	1	1	1	0	0
Total	8	5	4	4	1
Buntingford area, n=15					
*Albury	0	0	0	0	0
*Anstey	0	0	0	0	0
*Barkway	2	1	1	1	0
*Barley	0	0	0	0	0
*Braughing	0	0	0	0	0
*Buckland	0	0	0	0	0
*Great Hadham	2	1	0	2	1
*Great Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Little Hadham	1	0	0	1	0
Little Hornead	0	0	0	0	0
*Sandon	0	0	0	0	0
Standon	1	1	1	0	0
*Therfield	1	1	1	0	0
*Thundridge	0	0	0	0	0
Westmill	0	0	0	0	0
Total	7	4	3	4	1
Total (n=31)	15	9	7	8	2

* denotes parish with population decline in 1881/91

TABLE 123.--Stevenage and Buntingford areas combined. Dual occupations, 1891 Census: All Parishes.

=====												
	Grocer	Pub	Smith	Builder	Shoemkr	Miller	Tailor	Saddler	Baker	Butcher	Carp/ww	Butcher Carp/ww
Grocer	73	5	2					1	7	1		2
Pub	5	118	3	3	3				5	1		6
Blacksmith	2	3	29									1
Builder		3		32								3
Shoemkr		3			50							
Miller						8						
Tailor							13					
Saddler	1							9				
Baker	7	5							24			
Butcher	1	1								25		
Carp/ww	2	6	1	3								49
Farmer	5	9		4		4					4	
Others	21	24	6	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	3	4
Total	117	177	41	46	57	14	15	12	38	34		65

TABLE 125.--Stevenage and Buntingford areas combined. Dual occupations, 1890 Kelly's Directory, All parishes.

=====												
	Grocer	Pub	Smith	Builder	Shoemkr	Miller	Tailor	Saddler	Baker	Butcher	Carp/ww	
Grocer	65	6	1	1	1			1	10	2	1	
Pub	6	182	3	2			1		4	3	3	
Blacksmith	1	3	30								3	
Builder		2		22								
Shoemkr	1				35							
Miller						11						
Tailor							7					
Saddler	1	1						10				
Baker	10	4							20			
Butcher	2	3								17		
Carp/ww	1	3	3								37	
Farmer	1	4	1	3		4			2	3	1	
Others	19	10	4	4	1	1	1	1	4		2	
Total	107	218	42	31	37	16	9	12	40	25	47	

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 7

Both full-time and part-time trades are included in Tables 127 to 129 set out below. Thus, multiple occupations for the same trader appear under each separate occupation heading, for example, the occupation recorded as "miller and baker" would appear as one baker outlet and one miller outlet.

TABLE 127.--Numbers of crafts and trades in Hertfordshire villages, 1855.

Occupation	Number of Outlets
Agricultural and Services to Agriculture	
Auctioneer/Surveyor	3
Basket maker	7
Blacksmith/farrier	83
Carpenter/wheelwright	95
Cattle dealer	3
Cooper	5
Land agent	4
Land surveyor	2
Lime burner	2
Machine maker	1
Malt factor	1
Mealman	4
Nurseryman	2
Poulterer	2
Saddler	23
Seed driller	1
Solicitor	2
Vet	4
Total Outlets	244
Construction	
Brick/tile maker	7
Building surveyor	1
Builder/bricklayer	64
Lath render	1
Mason	1
Plumber/painter/glazier	21
Rope and twine maker	3
Sawyer	2
Timber merchant	1
Total Outlets	101

TABLE 127.--Continued.

Occupation	Number of Outlets
Transport	
Barge owner	1
Carrier	19
Coach maker	2
Road surveyor	2
Wharfinger	1
Total Outlets	25
Industry	
Brazier/brass/ironfounder	8
Fancy trimming maker	2
Fulling mill	1
Papermaker	4
Plait dealer	5
Plait manufacturer	2
Woodware manufacturer/woodman	2
Total Outlets	24
Miscellaneous Crafts and Trades including Professionals	
Baker	74
Boot and shoe maker	166
Brewer/Maltster	30
Broker	2
Butcher	69
Civil engineer	2
Clothes dealer	1
Clothier	3
Confectioner	2
Corn/coal dealer	18
Dispensing chemist/druggist	4
Dressmaker	1
Earthenware dealer	2
Fellmonger	3
Gaiter maker	2
Glover	3
Grocer/draper/shopkeeper	430
Hairdresser	3
Hatter	2
Higgler	2
Insurance agent	10
Ironmonger	4
Miller	53
Milliner	4
Millwright	2
Publican/hotel/innkeeper/beer retailer	410
Silk mercer	1
Stationer	2
Straw hat/bonnet maker	2
Surgeon	19
Tailor	51
Tanner	1

TABLE 127.--Continued.

Occupation	Number of Outlets
Tea dealer	1
Tobacconist	1
Type founder	1
Watchmaker	5
Wire worker	1
Wine and spirit merchant	2
Total Outlets	1389
Number of Different Trades	78
Source: <u>Kelly's Directory, 1855.</u>	

TABLE 128.--Numbers of crafts and trades in Hertfordshire villages, 1878.

Occupation	Number of Outlets
Agricultural and Services to Agriculture	
Auctioneer	1
Banker	1
Basket maker	3
Blacksmith/farrier	126
Carpenter/wheelwright	136
Castrator	1
Cattle dealer	11
Cooper	1
Estate agent	1
Hop merchant	1
Hurdle maker	4
Land agent	4
Land surveyor	1
Lime burner	1
Machinist	2
Mealman	3
Nurseryman/seedsman	5
Pig dealer	1
Poulterer	1
Saddler	28
Sheep dealer	1
Solicitor	5
Steam plough proprietor	1
Thrashing machine owner	1
Vet	5
Woolstapler	1
Total Outlets	346

TABLE 128.--Continued.

Occupation	Number of Outlets
Construction	
Architect/surveyor	3
Brick/drain/tile maker	7
Builder	78
Lath render	1
Plumber/painter/glazier	35
Sawyer	1
Slater/plasterer	1
Timber dealer	1
Timber merchant	1
Total Outlets	128
Transport	
Carrier	14
Coach builder	3
Total Outlets	17
Industry	
Aerated water manufacturer	1
Brazier/brass/ironfounder	9
Fancy trimming maker	2
Paper maker	1
Plait dealer	4
Straw and plait dealer	12
Straw plait manufacturer	1
Woodware manufacturer	1
Total Outlets	31
Miscellaneous Crafts and Trades including Professionals	
Accountant	1
Baker	107
Beer, wine and spirit dealer	7
Boot and shoe maker	108
Brewer/maltster	27
Butcher	76
Cabinetmaker	2
Carver/gilder	1
Chemist/druggist	6
Chimney sweep	1
Clothier	2
Corn/coal dealer	35
Dressmaker	7
Earthenware dealer	1
Engineer	2
Fan maker	1
Fancy repository	2
Fellmonger	1
Fishmonger	2
Flour dealer	1
Furniture dealer	2

TABLE 128.--Continued.

Occupation	Number of Outlets
Gaiter maker	1
Glass and china dealer	1
Glover	1
Greengrocer	1
Grocer/draper/shopkeeper	344
Hairdresser	5
Higgler	7
Hosier	1
Insurance agent	13
Ironmonger	7
Laundress	1
Leather merchant	1
Leather seller	1
Marine store dealer	6
Miller	49
Milliner	1
Millwright	3
Newsagent	1
Pork butcher	4
Publican/hotel/innkeeper/ beer retailer	321
Rope and twine maker	2
Salt merchant	1
Silk throwster	1
Stationer	5
Straw hat/bonnet maker	6
Surgeon	18
Tailor	59
Tanner	2
Tea dealer	1
Thatcher	2
Tinman	1
Tobacconist	2
Umbrella maker	1
Watchmaker	12
Whitesmith	2
Wood dealer	1
Wire worker	1
Well sinker	1
Wood turner	1
Yeast dealer	1
Total Outlets	1281
Number of Different Trades	107

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1878.

TABLE 129.--Numbers of crafts and trades in Hertfordshire villages, 1902.

Occupation	Number of Outlets
Agricultural and Services to Agriculture	
Agricultural implement agent	1
Agricultural machinist	4
Agricultural iron foundry	1
Auctioneer/surveyor	2
Banker	3
Basket maker	2
Beehive and poultry appliance manufacturer	1
Beekeeper	1
Blacksmith/farrier	105
Carpenter/wheelwright	96
Castrator	1
Cooper	1
Drover	1
Estate agent	2
Fruiterer	5
Hurdle maker	5
Land and estate agent	5
Lime burner	1
Market gardener	7
Mealman	2
Nurseryman/seedsman	15
Poulterer	1
Saddler	29
Solicitor	9
Steam plough thresher	14
Thatcher	3
Vet	4
Total Outlets	321
Construction	
Architect/surveyor	12
Brickmaker	12
Builder/bricklayer	88
Building materials dealer	2
Gravel merchant	2
House decorator	4
Joiner	2
Mason	2
Plasterer	1
Plumber	27
Road and fence contractor	1
Sawyer	1
Timber dealer/sawmill	5
Total Outlets	159

TABLE 129.--Continued.

Occupation	Number of Outlets
Transport	
Barge owner	1
Cab proprietor	2
Carman	1
Carrier	29
Coach builder	11
Cycle agent	11
Cycle maker	4
Cycle repairer	3
Fly proprietor	6
Omnibus proprietor	1
Total Outlets	69
Industry	
Brush manufacturer	2
Fancy trimming manufacturer	1
India rubber goods manufacturer	1
Ink powder manufacturer	1
Ironfounder	2
Jam manufacturer	2
Mineral water manufacturer	1
Paper maker	1
Plait dealer	1
Straw plait dealer	3
Total Outlets	15
Miscellaneous Crafts and Trades including Professionals	
Artist	2
Assurance agent	1
Baker	108
Bookseller	2
Boot and shoe maker	89
Brewer/maltster	16
Butcher	77
Cabinetmaker	2
Carver	1
Chemist	6
Chimney sweep	5
China and glass dealer	2
Clothier	1
Coffee tavern	10
Confectioner	12
Corn/coal dealer	48
Dentist	3
Dressmaker	18
Druggist	5
Engineer	6
Fancy repository	5
Fellmonger	2

TABLE 129.--Continued.

Occupation	Number of Outlets
Firewood dealer	3
Fishmonger	5
Florist	5
Furniture broker	2
Furniture dealer	1
Gas fitter	2
Greengrocer	5
Grocer/draper/shopkeeper	328
Hair dresser	10
Hardware dealer	2
Hatter	2
Higgler	2
House furnisher	2
Insurance agent	15
Ironmonger	9
Jeweller	3
Laundress	10
Marine store dealer	5
Miller	34
Milliner	3
Millwright	1
Newsagent	5
Nurse	1
Pastrycook	1
Photographer	3
Photographic paper manufacturer	1
Photographic stationer	1
Pianoforte warehouse	1
Pork butcher	1
Printer	2
Publican/hotel/innkeeper/ beer retailer	329
Refreshment rooms	2
Sausage maker	1
Secondhand furniture dealer	1
Sewing machine agent	1
Shoe repairer	1
Silk mercer	1
Stationer	5
Straw hat maker	6
Surgeon	18
Tailor	38
Tea dealer	1
Tobacconist	8
Watchmaker	6
Waterproof manufacturer	1
Wellsinker	1
Whitesmith	3
Wine and spirit merchant	9
Wireworker	1
Wood dealer	1
Wood turner	1
Writer/grainer	1
Zinc worker	1

TABLE 129.--Continued.

Total Outlets	1323
Number of Different Trades	135

Source: Kelly's Directory, 1902.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 9

Tables 130 and 131 below show the number of self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden for 1851-1891 based on the occupations recorded in the Census Enumerators' Books with cross-reference to Kelly's Directories to identify the status of the craftsmen and tradesmen where this was not evident from the enumerators' books. These tables form the basis for Tables 49 and 52 in Chapter 9.

TABLE 130.--Self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham, 1851-1891.

Occupation	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Agricultural labourer/Beer house keeper			1		1
Baker	1	1	1	2	3
Baker/Beer house keeper	1		1		
Baker/Grocer/Beer shop keeper		1			
Beer house keeper/Brewer	1				
Beer house keeper/Bricklayer			1		
Beer retailer/Mason/Straw carter			1		
Beer seller/Gardener				1	
Beer shop keeper	3	3			5
Beer shop keeper/Shopkeeper		1			
Blacksmith	1	1	1	1	1
Bootmaker		1	2	1	
Boot & shoe maker	1		2		
Bricklayer	2	1		1	1
Builder			1		2
Butcher	1	1	2		3
Butcher/Farmer					1
Carpenter	2	2		1	
Carpenter/Undertaker	1				
Carrier	1	1			
Coal dealer					1
Coffee house keeper					1
Confectioner/Berlin wool repository	2				
Corn & coal dealer			1		
corn & coal merchant				1	
Dealer/Beer house keeper			1		
Dispenser					1
Draper					1
Dressmaker					5
Florist				1	
General clerk/postmaster			1		
Glazier		1			
Grocer				2	1
Grocer/Draper	2	2	2	2	
Grocer/Draper/Newspaper agent			1		
Grocer/Draper/Tax Collector			1		
Grocer/Newsagent		1			
Harnessmaker		1	1		1
Hay dealer/Beer house keeper		1			
Hotelkeeper			1		
Innkeeper	2	1	1	1	1
Licensed victualler				3	1

TABLE 130.--Continued.

Occupation	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Mechanical engineer/Sheetmetal worker/Electrician					1
Miller				1	
Miller/Baker		1			
Painter					2
Painter/Glazier		1	1		
Plumber/Decorator				1	
Plumber/Glazier	1				
Plumber/Painter			1		
Postmaster					1
Publican	1			1	1
Publican/Straw carter			1		
Saddler		1		1	
Saddler/Beer house keeper			1		
Sawyer/Beer shop keeper			1		
Ship Builder		1			
Shipwright			1		
Shoemaker					2
Tailor	1	1	2	2	1
Tailor/Tax assessor/Assistant overseer					1
Tinman/Brazier	1				
Victualler		2			
Watchman				1	
Wheelwright			1	1	1
Total	25	27	32	25	40

TABLE 131.--Self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen in St. Paul's Walden, 1851-91.

Occupation	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Baker	1		1		
Baker/Grocer	1	1		2	
Beer house keeper		3			
Beer retailer/Grocer			1		
Beer shop keeper/Blacksmith		2			
Blacksmith			1	1	1
Blacksmith/Publican			1		
Bootmaker		1			
Bootmaker/Draper				1	
Brewer	1		1		
Brewer/Maltster				1	
Builder		1	1	1	1
Butcher	1	1	1	1	1
Butcher/dealer			1		
Butcher/publican				1	
Butcher/victualler			1		
Carpenter	2				
Carpenter/wheelwright		1			
Carrier					1
Carter/Publican/Grocer					1
Castrator				1	1
Common carrier					1
Cordwainer		1			3
Corn miller				1	
Draper etc.	2				1
Dressmaker					5
Furrier				1	
Greengrocer		1	2		1
Grocer			1	3	2
Grocer/baker			1		1
Grocer/beer shop keeper	1	1			
Grocer/brewer	1				
Grocer/flour miller				1	
Harness maker			1	1	1
Hawker/marine store dealer					1
Hurdlemaker					1
Innkeeper	1	1			
Licensed brewer/publican		1			
Licensed victualler			3		3
Licensed victualler/painter					1
Machinist					1
Miller	1	2			
Needleworker					1
Painter/innkeeper				1	
Postmaster				1	
Poulterer		1			
Publican		2		5	2
Publican/agricultural labourer			1		1
Publican/cattle dealer					1
Saddler	1	1		1	
Shoemaker	1				
Shoemaker/draper			1		
Shopkeeper				1	
Smith/carpenter/publican/grocer				1	
Smith/farrier	2				

TABLE 131.--Continued.

Occupation	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Smith/publican		1			
Tailor	1	1	1	1	
Tailor/draper			1		
Tailor/postmaster					1
Tanner	1	1			
Victualler		2			
Victualler/dealer	1				
Wheelwright	1	2	3		2
Wheelwright/beer shop keeper	1				
Wheelwright/innkeeper	1				
Total	22	28	24	27	36

Tables 132 to 135 below form the basis for the population pyramids described in Diagrams 1 to 4 in Chapter 9.

TABLE 132.-- Much Hadham Population Structure, 1851.

Age Bands	Total Numbers.....					% of total population.....							
						All Males.....				All Females.....			
	No.	%	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.	Males	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.	Females	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.
80+	12	1.0	3	1	8	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.5
75-79	16	1.3	5	5	6	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.3
70-74	28	2.3	14	5	9	1.1	0.6	0.2	0.3	1.1	0.5	0.2	0.4
65-69	40	3.3	15	10	15	1.7	0.7	0.4	0.6	1.5	0.5	0.4	0.6
60-64	27	2.2	10	7	10	1.1	0.6	0.2	0.4	1.0	0.2	0.4	0.4
55-59	42	3.4	16	14	12	1.8	1.0	0.3	0.4	1.6	0.2	0.8	0.6
50-54	52	4.3	25	16	11	1.9	1.0	0.6	0.2	2.3	1.0	0.6	0.6
45-49	47	3.9	17	10	20	2.2	1.0	0.2	1.0	1.7	0.2	0.8	0.6
40-44	60	4.9	33	9	18	2.6	1.5	0.5	0.6	2.3	1.1	0.2	1.0
35-39	77	6.3	39	10	28	3.5	2.3	0.2	1.0	2.7	0.8	0.6	1.3
30-34	78	6.4	44	12	22	3.5	2.4	0.4	0.6	2.8	1.1	0.6	1.1
25-29	101	8.3	60	15	26	3.9	2.6	0.6	0.7	4.3	2.3	0.6	1.4
20-24	96	7.9	56	21	19	3.8	2.4	1.0	0.4	4.1	2.1	0.7	1.1
15-19	96	7.9	71	14	11	4.6	3.7	0.4	0.5	3.1	2.0	0.7	0.4
10-14	143	11.7	114	14	15	6.0	4.9	0.3	0.8	5.5	4.3	0.8	0.4
5-9	147	12.0	126	9	12	5.6	4.8	0.4	0.3	6.3	5.3	0.3	0.6
0-4	158	13.0	144	6	8	6.4	6.0	0.2	0.2	6.3	5.6	0.2	0.4

TABLE 133.-- Much Hadham Population Structure, 1891.

Age Bands	Total Numbers.....					% of total population.....							
						All Males.....				All Females.....			
	No.	%	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.	Males	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.	Females	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.
80+	12	1.0	6	1	5	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.2
75-79	12	1.0	6	4	2	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.5	0.2	0.1
70-74	20	1.6	9	3	8	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.6
65-69	44	3.6	16	9	19	1.6	0.8	0.3	0.5	1.9	0.5	0.4	1.1
60-64	31	2.5	16	6	9	1.3	0.7	0.2	0.3	1.2	0.6	0.2	0.4
55-59	45	3.6	21	6	18	1.5	0.8	0.3	0.4	2.1	0.9	0.2	1.1
50-54	55	4.4	27	7	21	2.2	1.1	0.3	0.8	2.3	1.1	0.2	0.9
45-49	56	4.5	27	6	23	2.5	1.4	0.2	0.9	2.0	0.8	0.2	1.0
40-44	77	6.2	39	15	23	3.2	1.8	0.6	0.8	3.1	1.4	0.6	1.1
35-39	85	6.9	39	10	36	3.8	1.9	0.5	1.4	3.1	1.2	0.3	1.5
30-34	63	5.1	22	8	33	2.3	1.1	0.5	0.8	2.7	0.7	0.2	1.9
25-29	92	7.4	40	12	40	3.9	2.3	0.5	1.1	3.6	1.0	0.5	2.1
20-24	92	7.4	47	11	34	3.6	2.3	0.3	1.0	3.9	1.5	0.6	1.8
15-19	120	9.7	78	15	27	5.1	3.9	0.3	0.9	4.6	2.4	0.9	1.3
10-14	132	10.7	101	18	13	5.3	4.2	0.6	0.4	5.4	4.0	0.8	0.6
5-9	152	12.3	111	15	26	6.1	4.2	0.8	1.1	6.2	4.8	0.4	1.1
0-4	150	12.1	127	9	14	6.4	5.5	0.2	0.6	5.7	4.8	0.5	0.5

Number of persons with no recorded age 10

Number of persons with no recorded birthplace 7

TABLE 134.-- St. Paul's Walden Population Structure, 1851.

Age Bands	Total Numbers.....					% of total population.....							
						All Males.....				All Females.....			
	No.	%	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.	Males	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.	Females	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.
80+	6	0.5	0	3	3	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.2
75-79	8	0.7	3	1	4	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.2
70-74	13	1.2	5	6	2	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.0
65-69	22	2.0	8	3	11	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.4	1.2	0.4	0.3	0.5
60-64	31	2.8	10	13	8	1.7	0.6	0.7	0.4	1.1	0.3	0.4	0.4
55-59	33	2.9	16	7	10	1.2	0.5	0.4	0.4	1.7	0.9	0.3	0.5
50-54	35	3.1	14	7	14	1.1	0.5	0.2	0.4	2.0	0.7	0.4	0.9
45-49	49	4.4	18	8	23	2.2	0.8	0.4	1.1	2.1	0.8	0.4	1.0
40-44	64	5.7	27	15	22	2.9	1.0	0.7	1.2	2.9	1.4	0.6	0.8
35-39	77	6.9	38	21	18	3.3	2.1	0.9	0.3	3.6	1.2	1.0	1.3
30-34	70	6.2	43	11	16	3.4	1.8	0.6	1.0	2.9	2.0	0.4	0.4
25-29	91	8.1	50	13	28	4.1	2.5	0.5	1.1	4.0	2.0	0.6	1.4
20-24	111	9.9	66	16	29	5.2	2.9	1.1	1.2	4.7	2.9	0.4	1.4
15-19	101	9.0	67	20	14	4.5	2.9	1.0	0.6	4.3	3.0	0.8	0.6
10-14	116	10.3	94	10	12	5.4	4.4	0.6	0.4	4.9	4.0	0.3	0.6
5-9	126	11.2	99	12	15	5.3	4.3	0.4	0.6	6.0	4.5	0.7	0.7
0-4	169	15.1	159	3	7	7.0	6.6	0.1	0.4	8.0	7.6	0.2	0.3

Number of persons with no recorded age 10

Number of persons with no recorded birthplace 0

TABLE 135.-- Population Structure of St. Paul's Walden, 1891.

=====														
Age Bands	Total Numbers.....					% of total population.....								
						All Males.....			All Females.....					
	No.	%	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.	Males	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.	Females	Nat.	Loc.	Dist.	
80+	6	0.6	2	1	3	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.2	
75-79	18	1.9	10	7	1	1.1	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.0	
70-74	21	2.3	14	5	2	0.9	0.4	0.3	0.1	1.4	1.1	0.2	0.1	
65-69	24	2.6	16	4	4	1.2	1.1	0.0	0.1	1.4	0.6	0.4	0.3	
60-64	35	3.8	19	8	8	2.3	1.3	0.6	0.3	1.5	0.8	0.2	0.5	
55-59	28	3.0	12	9	7	1.4	0.5	0.3	0.5	1.6	0.8	0.6	0.2	
50-54	32	3.5	17	6	9	1.7	1.0	0.2	0.5	1.7	0.9	0.4	0.4	
45-49	40	4.3	20	10	10	2.3	1.2	0.5	0.5	2.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	
40-44	37	4.0	24	4	9	1.9	1.3	0.0	0.6	2.0	1.3	0.4	0.3	
35-39	57	6.1	32	8	17	2.9	1.4	0.5	1.0	3.2	2.0	0.3	0.9	
30-34	62	6.7	32	10	20	3.1	1.3	0.6	1.2	3.6	2.2	0.4	1.0	
25-29	72	7.8	40	11	21	3.0	1.9	0.6	0.4	4.7	2.4	0.5	1.8	
20-24	70	7.6	33	14	23	3.5	2.3	0.5	0.6	4.1	1.3	1.0	1.8	
15-19	73	7.9	43	7	23	3.8	2.9	0.2	0.6	4.1	1.7	0.5	1.8	
10-14	102	11.0	83	4	15	6.1	5.1	0.1	1.0	4.9	3.9	0.3	0.6	
5-9	123	13.3	102	6	15	6.9	6.1	0.2	0.5	6.4	4.9	0.4	1.1	
0-4	127	13.7	107	3	17	6.7	5.6	0.2	0.9	7.0	5.9	0.1	1.0	

Number of persons with no recorded age 0
Number of persons with no recorded birthplace 7

Tables 136 and 137 below show for each parish the number of craft and trade families present in the period 1851 to 1891 where the household head was an employer or self-employed. The data are summarised in Tables 58 and 59 in Chapter 9. The main grouping was by numbers of families present, whole or in part, for one, two, three, four or five censuses. The families were further grouped by age of the household head. Each table shows, where applicable, whether the craft or trade was continued by the spouse after the death of the husband. The tables also show whether any children over the age of 13 years, either resident in the household, or in separate establishments, had the same occupation as the household head or a different occupation.

TABLE 136.--Continued.

Continued Children.....									
By <14 Not Same Related Unrelated Domestic Ag.Farmer									
Age	N	Spouse	None	Years	Stated	Trade	Trade	Service	Lab.
Family present for 5 censuses.									
<25									
25-34	5			14	9	1	3		
35-44	5		1	3	4	4		2	
45-54	4			2	14	5		5	1 4
55-64	3		1		5	5			
65+									
Total	17	0	2	19	32	15	3	7	1 4 0
Related trade: father, bricklayer; sons, carpenters, builder's manager									
All families.									
<25	5	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0 0 0
25-34	22	0	5	40	23	4	3	3	1 1 0
35-44	23	1	7	27	22	12	1	6	0 3 0
45-54	16	1	6	14	20	7	0	5	2 4 0
55-64	12	1	5	0	11	7	0	2	1 1 1
65+	15	2	6	0	9	10	0	1	2 1 0
Total	93	5	32	83	85	40	4	17	6 10 1

TABLE 137.--Continuity of trades and crafts to next generation, St.Paul's Walden

Continued Children.....						
By <14 Not Same Related Unrelated Domestic Ag.Farmer						
Age	N	Spouse	None	Years	Stated	Trade Trade Service Lab.
Family present for 1 census.						
<25	1			2		
25-34	8		3	9	1	
35-44	5		2	11		1
45-54	6		3	6		
55-64	1		1			
65+	1		1			
Total	22	0	10	28	1	0 0 0 0 1
Family present for 2 censuses.						
<25						
25-34	4		3	8		
35-44	8	1		23	1	3
45-54	5	1	1	6	2	1
55-64	1				5	4
65+	1					2
Total	19	2	4	37	8	8 0 4 0 0 0

TABLE 137.--Continued.

Continued Children.....						
By <14 Not Same Related Unrelated Domestic Ag.Farmer						
Age	N	Spouse None	Years Stated	Trade	Trade	Service Lab.
Family present for 3 censuses.						
<25						
25-34	2		5	1		1
35-44	3	1	5	2		1
45-54	6	1	9	7	3	2
55-64						
65+						
Total	11	0	2	19	10	3
					0	6
						0
						2
						0
						0
Family present for 4 censuses.						
<25						
25-34						
35-44	3	1	1	3	1	
45-54	3	1		7	1	1
55-64	2	1		9	1	2
65+	1	1				
Total	9	0	4	1	19	3
					0	4
						1
						0
						0

TABLE 137.--Continued.

Continued Children.....									
By <14 Not Same Related Unrelated Domestic Ag.Farmer									
Age	N	Spouse	None	Years	Stated	Trade	Trade	Service	Lab.
Family present for 5 censuses.									
<25									
25-34	4		2	1	6		2	2	
35-44	7			7	11			5	
45-54	4				7	11		2	
55-64	3		1		5	6		6	2
65+									
Total	18	0	3	8	29	17	0	15	2 2 0
All families.									
<25	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0 0 0
25-34	21	0	8	23	8	0	0	3	2 0 0
35-44	23	2	4	47	17	4	0	7	0 0 0
45-54	23	2	6	21	23	16	0	10	1 2 0
55-64	4	1	3	0	19	11	0	8	0 2 0
65+	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0 0 0
Total	79	6	23	93	67	31	0	30	3 4 0

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 10

Tables 138-142 contain the details of the landholdings of individual craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham and St. Paul's Walden between the 1830s and c.1910. Each table shows the name of each craftsman and tradesman; details of the type of property owned, occupied, rented and/or let out; the amount of tax paid, as recorded in the assessment; the person's occupation, where known; the earliest or latest source in time in which the name of a specific trader appeared; and any additional relevant information.

Tables 69-73 in Chapter 10 are summaries of Tables 138-142 respectively.

TABLE 138.--Landholding patterns of craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham, 1832.¹

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Tax Paid f	Occupation	Latest Source Present	Comments
Aney, Ann		Hse, land	Hse, land		£1 12s	Publican	1838 Tithe Award	See Table 139
Beadle, John	Hse & shop	Hse & shop			8s			
Bowcock, James	Hse & shop	Hse & shop			8s			
Brand, Thomas	Hse & shop	Hse & shop			12s			
Chambers, John		Farm	Farm		£36 12s	Maltster	1845 P.O.Dir.	See Table 139
Freeman, William	Hse & shop	Hse & shop			12s			
Fuller, Thomas		Hse	Hse		16s	Carrier	1891 CEB	See Table 139
Green, William		Hse	Hse		12s	Carrier	1838 Tithe Award	See Table 139

¹ Identification has been made on the basis of occupation of a shop, tanyard, mill or malting, or by means of nominal record linkage to the Post Office Directory, 1845, Kelly's directory, 1850, or the 1851 census enumerators' books. Cross-reference links to the 1838 tithe award details were also made.

TABLE 138.---Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Tax Paid £	Occupation	Latest Source Present	Comments
Hardy, William		Hse & shop	Hse & shop		4s	Shoemaker	1851 CEB	Owned by James Knight Senior See Table 139
Hills, John Hunt, Mrs	Hse & shop	Hse & shop	Farm, mill, land		8s £7			
Ingauld, James	Hse & shop	Hse & shop			8s			
Knight, James, Senior	Hses, 2 shops, farm	Hse, shop, farm		Hses & shop	£3 16s	butcher/ farmer	1851 CEB	Let out to William Hardy See Table 139
Morris, Thomas	2 Hse, 2 shops	Hse & shop		Hse & shop	£1 4s	carpenter	1838 Tithe Award	Let out to 'Thurgood' See Table 139
Mott, Mrs	4 Hse, tenements	2 Hse tenements		2 Hse	£3 8s			
Orgar, Mrs	3 Hse & 3 shops	Hse & shop		2 Hse & 2 shops	£1 4s			Occupiers' names not recorded
Patmore, Peter	Hse	Hse			4s	bricklayer	1845 P.O.Dir.	See Table 139
Randle, William	Hse & shop	Hse & shop			12s	baker	1851 CEB	See Table 139

TABLE 138.--Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Tax Paid £	Occupation	Latest Source Present	Comments
Rowley, Robert		Hse, malting, land	Hse, malting, land		£3			
Speller, Andrew	Cott, wrkshop, garden	Cott, wrkshop, garden			8s	plumber	1845 P.O.Dir.	See Table 139
Thurgood		Hse & shop	Hse & shop		4s			
Warren, Edward	Hse & shop	Hse & shop, cotts	Cotts		8s owned £1 rented	grocer	1850 Kelly	See Table 139
Woor, Richard	Tenements	Hse, land, farm tenements	Hse, land, farm		8s owned £7 16s rented	publican	1845 P.O.Dir.	See Table 139

Source: 1832 Land Tax Assessment.

TABLE 139.--Landholding patterns of craftsmen and tradesmen in Much Hadham, 1838.²

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Latest Source Present	Comments
Aney, Ann		PH + lac	PH + lac		publican, Bull Inn	1838 Tithe Award	See Table 138
Bawcock, Mary	Hse, blksmith shop,gdn	Hse, blksmith shop,gdn			blacksmith	1838 Tithe Award	
Burr, John	Cott,yd, garden	Cott,yd, garden			butcher/ beer shop	1871 CEB	1871 CEB occupation: straw carter/farmer 8ac 2 men/beer shop
Chambers, John	Cott & gdn	Cott,gdn, 354 ac joint	354 ac		maltster	1845 P.O.Dir.	See Table 138
Clarke, William		Cott,gdn joint	Cott & gdn		mill	1851 CEB	
Easton, Thomas	3 cott & 2 gdn, harnessm shop,hse	Cott,yd, outbldg, gdn, bsmith shop	Cott,yd, outbldg, gdn, bsmith shop	3 Cott, 2 gdn, harnessm shop,hse	grocer/ draper/ tax collector	1861 CEB	Rented harness maker's shop to John Wilson Could have sublet blacksmiths shop

² Identification of self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen has been on the basis of occupation of a shop, mill, tanyard or malting, or nominal record linkage to the 1832 land tax assessment, the Post Office Directory, 1845, Kelly's directory, 1850, or the 1851 census enumerators' books.

TABLE 139.--Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Latest Source Present	Comments
Fuller, Thomas		Beer shop, outbldg, yd	Beer shop, outbldg, yd		carrier/ beer retailer	1891 CEB	See Table 138
Green, William		Hse,gdn shop	Hse,gdn shop		tailor	1881 CEB	
Green, William		Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn		carrier	1838 Tithe Award	See Table 138
Hardy, William		.2 yd,cott, bldg,gdn	2 yd,cott, bldg,gdn		boot & shoemaker	1851 CEB	Owned by James Knight, Senior See Table 138
Knight, James Senior	Hse,yd, butchers shop, outbldg, 49.75 ac	Hse, butchers shop, 214.25 ac	214.25 ac yd, 49.75 ac, butcher outbldg		farmer/ farmer/ butcher	1851 CEB	See Table 138 See Henry James Knight, 1910, grandson, Table 141. Two landlords 1851: farmer 430 ac 14 men 7 boys Joint ownership yd,hse,butchers shop, outbldg with Thomas Morris
Miller, Charles		Cott,yd, 0.75 ac	Cott,yd, 0.75 ac		butcher	1851 CEB	Two landlords
Morris, Thomas	Carptr shop,2 yd, hse, bldg, yd butchers shop,gdn, outbldg	Carpentr shop,hse, yd		yd,bldg, hse,gdn, butchers shop, outbldg,	carpenter	1838 Tithe Award	See Table 138 Joint ownership yd,hse,butchers shop, outbldg with James Knight Senior

TABLE 139.---Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Latest Source Comments Present
Patmore, Hse Peter	Hse, yd, cott	Cott, yd			bricklayer	1845 P.O.Dir. See Table 138
Randle, Hse, William bakehouse, bakehouse, outbldg, yd outbldg, yd	Hse,				baker	1851 CEB See Table 138 1861 CEB, widow, Elizabeth, baker 1871 CEB, son, Henry, baker
Speller, Cott, Andrew wrkshop, wrkshop, gdn	Cott,				plumber	1845 P.O.Dir. See Table 138 See Joseph Speller, son.
Speller, Joseph	Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn		plumber/ painter/ glazier	1871 CEB See Andrew Speller, father 1891 CEB William, son, painter
Thurgood, Aright	Hse, gdn, shop, yd	Hse, gdn, shop, yd	Hse, gdn, shop, yd			1838 Tithe Award
Thurgood, James	Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn		bricklayer	1861 CEB See Table 138 See James Thurgood, grandson, 1910, Table 138
Warren, Edward Cott, yds, outbldgs, outbldgs, gdns, hse, gdns, hse					grocer	1850 Kelly See Table 138
Wilson, William	Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn		tinman/ brazier	1861 CEB
Woor, Richard Cotts & yds	PH, 39.25 ac	PH, 39.25 ac	PH, 39.25 ac	Cotts & yd	publican Red Lion	1845 P.O.Dir. See Table 138 Three landlords

TABLE 139.---Continued.

Source: 1838 Tithe Schedules, C.R.O. Ref. DSA 4 45/1.

TABLE 140.--Landholding patterns of craftsmen and tradesmen in St. Paul's Walden parish, 1841³

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	1825 Rent	Occupation	Latest Source	Comments
Bignall, William		Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn			tallor	1845 P.O.Dir.	Joint occupier
Brown, William		2 Cott & gdn, 11.5 ac	2 Cott & gdn, 11.5 ac			shopkeeper	1882 Kelly	Red Lion pub in 1882
Camp, Mary	Hse, 0.75 ac	Hse, 0.75 ac				grocer/ baker	1845 P.O.Dir.	
Carter, John		Cott & gnd	Cott & gdn			carpenter/ machine maker	1851 CEB	
Eldred, William	3 Cott & gdn	PH, 1.5 ac	PH, 1.5 ac	3 Cott & gdn		publican/rate & tax collector	1881 CEB	Three landlords
Hill, Robert Francis	Brewery, malting, outbldgs, yd, 2.25ac	Brewery, malting, outbldgs, yd, 2.25ac				brewer/ maltster	1850 Kelly	Business present until 1882 under name of Hill & Archer

³ Identification of self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen was as described in Note 2.

TABLE 140.--Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	1825 Rent	Occupation	Latest Source	Comments
							Present	
Johns, George		PH,gdn, orchard, 0.75 ac	PH,gdn, orchard, 0.75 ac			publican Eagle & Child	1845 P.O.Dir.	
Oliver, 10 Cott William & gdn, 9 ac	10 Cott & gdn, 1.25 ac	7.75 ac			£15 14s	publican	1841 Tithe Award	In 1825 rented & occupied Eagle & Child PH, farmland & tanyard
Orsman, John	Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn				boot & shoemaker/ draper	1881 CEB	See Sarah Orsman, granddaughter, Table 142 Son John Lane Orsman, boot & shoemaker, 1908, Kelly
Pearce, Thomas	PH, 3 ac	PH, 3 ac				publican Red Lion		
Saunders, William	Hse, 0.5 ac	Hse, 0.5 ac				grocer/ baker	1850 Kelly	
Saunderson, Stephen	1 ac	1 ac				butcher	1871 CEB	
Tolls, Abraham	5 cott & gdn	5 cott & gdn				carpenter	1845 P.O.Dir.	Joint occupation
Tomlin, John	PH, 0.25 ac	PH, 0.25 ac				blacksmith/ farrier/ Maldens Head PH	1851 CEB	

TABLE 140. ---Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	1825 Rent	Occupation	Latest Source	Comments
							Present	
Wabey, James	Hse, shop, 1 ac	Hse, shop, 78 ac	77 ac		f2 8s	farmer/ butcher	1851 CEB	Three landlords
Weatherley, John		4 cott & gdn	4 cott & gdn			saddler	1881 CEB	Joint occupation
Wellingham, Samuel	tanyard, 30.5 ac, cott, gdn	tanyard, 28.5 ac		cott, gdn, 2 ac	f1 6s	tanner	1861 CEB	Son John tanner/farmer in 1882 Kelly
Young, George Dilley		Mill, 6.5 ac	Mill, 6.5 ac			millier/ coal merchant/ farmer	1861 CEB	

Source: 1841 Tithe Schedule, C.R.O. Ref. DSA 4 107/1.

TABLE 141.--Landholding patterns of Much Hadham craftsmen and tradesmen, 1910.⁴

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Earliest Source Present	Comments
Ayton, Malcolm		Butchers shop	Butchers shop		butcher	1910 Kelly	
Baines & Topcoat		Hse,gdn shops	Hse,gdn, shops		grocer	1910 Kelly	Business name
Burton, Joseph	Hse,gdn, shops	Hse,gdn, shops			saddler	1891 CEB	
Chapman, Abraham	Coach hse,hse, 2 gdns	Coach hse,gdn, land,gdn	Land, gdn	Hse, gdn	fancy repository	1891 CEB	Two landlords
Dollimore, Mary Ann	Hse,yd, shop	Hse,yd, shop			butcher	1891 CEB	1891 CEB: wife of George,butcher 1881 CEB: George Dollimore, general dealer
Drage, Salathiel Lancelot		Hse, shops	Hse, shops		boot & shoemaker	1908 Kelly	
Fletcher, Frederick	Hse & gdn	Hse & gdn			boot & shoemaker	1871 CEB	1861 CEB: father John, bootmaker

⁴ Identification of self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen has again been done on the basis of occupation of a shop, malting, mill; or by linking individuals to Kelly's directory, 1910 or to entries in the 1891 census enumerators' books.

TABLE 141.--Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Earliest Source Present	Comments
Flower, Miss Annie		Coffee tavern	Coffee tavern		refreshment rooms	1910 Kelly	
Gaylor, Walter		Beerhse, orchard	Beerhse, orchard		beer retailer	1891 CEB	
Grant, Edward		PH,hse, bldg,land, stables	PH,hse, bldg,land, stables		publican Bull Inn	1910 Kelly	
Greens Stores (Stansted) Ltd		Hse, bldgs	Hse, bldgs		grocer/ draper	1902 Kelly	Business name
Groves, Walter		Beerhse	Beerhse		beer retailer	1910 Domesday	
Hodge, William		Hse,gdn, stables	Hse,gdn, stables		coal merchant	1881 CEB	1881 CEB : journeyman baker
Holland & Barrett	Hse,gdn, shop	Hse,gdn, shop			grocer	1902 Kelly	Business name
Knight, Henry James	Hse,yd, shops	Hse,yd, shops			butcher/ farmer	1871 CEB	See James Knight Sen., 1838, grandfather, Table 139, 1861 CEB Henry Acres Knight, father, farmer, 490 ac, 14 men, 4 boys

TABLE 141.---Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Earliest Source Present	Comments
Luck, James	Pasture, hse,gdn, 4 cott & gdn	Pasture	Hse,gdn, 4 cott & gdn	grocer	1851 CEB	Occupation from 1891 CEB May have retired by 1910	
Page, Mrs	2 Hse, shops, gdns,land	Hse,gdn, shop	Hse,gdn, shops, land	bsmith	1910 Kelly	1851 CEB, Charles,blacksmith,husband Let out to William Page, son	
Page, William		Hse,gdn shops, land	Hse,gdn, shops, land	cycle agent & dealer	1871 CEB	See Mrs Page,mother Property rented from mother	
Parker, William		Land, cott, gdn	Land, cott, gdn	wheelwright	1891 CEB	Two landlords	
Saunders, J. (Late)		Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn	boot & shoemaker	1871 CEB	1851 CEB : Paul,father,shoemaker	
Smith, Henry	Blksmith shop	Blksmith shop,hse, gdn	Hse & shop,hse, gdn	ironmonger/ hardware dlr/ smith/cycle ag	1902 Kelly		
Stone, James Levi		PH,land, stabling	PH,land, stabling	publican Old Bell Inn	1910 Kelly		

TABLE 141.--Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Earliest Source Present	Comments
Stracey, Joseph	2 Hses, 2 shops, 2 gdns, cott & gdn			2 Hses, 2 shops, 2 gdns, cott & gdn	baker	1861 CEB	1851 CEB: Joseph Stracey, father, miller/baker
Stracey, Joseph Charles		Hse,gdn, shops	Hse,gdn, shops		corn & coal merchant	1891 CEB	Property owned by Joseph Stracey 1891 CEB : baker
Swallow, Alphaeus Enoch		Hse, shops	Hse, shops		postmaster	1910 Kelly	Property owned by Sarah Thurgood, builder
Thurgood, George Longden	3 hses, 3 gdns, nursery, land,bldg, stables, cott, offices	Hse,gdn, land,bldg, cott,gdn, offices	Land	2 hses, land, nursery, gdn,bldg, stables	builder/ contractor	1881 CEB	See James Thurgood,brother, Sarah Thurgood,mother, James Thurgood,grandfather,1838,Table 139, Two landlords
Thurgood, James		Cott & gdn	Cott & gdn		postmaster/ shopkeeper	1861 CEB	See George Longden Thurgood,brother, Sarah Thurgood,mother, James Thurgood,grandfather,1838,Table 139

TABLE 141.--Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Earliest Source Present	Comments
Thurgood, Sarah	5 Cott & gdn Hse, shops			5 cott & gdn Hse, shops	builder	1891 CEB	1871 CEB James, husband, builder Lived with George Longden Thurgood, son House & shops let to Alphaeus Swallow See James Thurgood, son
Topcott, William	Hse, gdn, shops	Hse, gdn, shops, beerhse, cott	Beerhse, cott		baker/ beer retailer	1871 CEB	1851 William, father, baker/beer retailer
Townsend, Frederick	PH	PH	PH		publican Rose & Crown	1908 Kelly	
Trimby, William J.		Hse, shops	Hse, shops		tobacconist	1910 Kelly	
Vealey, Martin Luther		Hse, yd, shops	Hse, yd, shops		mech engineer/ sheetmetalwrter/ electrician	1891 CEB	
Whitby, James		Land, beerhse	Land, beerhse		beer retailer	1902 Kelly	
Williams, Mrs C.		Beerhse	Beerhse		beerseller The Hoops		
Winterton George Thomas		Hse & gdn	Hse & gdn		tallor/ asst overseer/ tax collector	1881 CEB	

TABLE 141.--Continued.

Source: 1910 Lloyd George Domesday Survey.

TABLE 142.--Landholding patterns, St. Paul's Walden craftsmen and tradesmen, 1910.⁵

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Earliest Source Present	Comments
Ansell, George		Cott, shop	Cott, shop		shopkeeper/ carrier	1908 Kelly	Two landlords
Arnold, Alfred		Cott	Cott		bootmaker	1902 Kelly	
Aylliffe, Charles		PH	PH		publican	1910 Kelly	
					Maidens Head		
Boreham, Jeremiah		Beerhse, 0.5 ac	Beerhse, 0.5 ac		Lamb Beerhouse	1891 CEB	
Cato, Frank		Hse & shop	Hse & shop		harness maker	1871 CEB	1861 CEB, father, Samuel, harnessmaker
Ewington, Frederick		Hse, smithy, bldgs	Hse, smithy, bldgs		blacksmith/ shopkeeper	1881 CEB	Two landlords

⁵ Identification of self-employed craftsmen and tradesmen was as described in Note 4.

TABLE 142.--Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Earliest Source Present	Comments
Freeman, George		PH,hse, bldgs, 20 ac	PH,hse, bldgs, 20 ac		publican Strathmore Arms	1891 CEB	Landlord Earl Strathmore
Goldhawk, Vincent		Workshop	Workshop		builder	1902 Kelly	
Henderson, Henry		Beerhse, 1.5 ac	Beerhse, 1.5 ac		Woodman Beerhouse	1910 Kelly	
Knight, William		Beerhouse	Beerhouse		Fox Beerhouse	1910 Domesday	
Lee, Thomas	Hse, shop, 0.5 ac	Hse, shop, 0.5 ac			baker/ grocer	1881 CEB	
Lines, William		PH, bldgs, 3 ac	PH, bldgs, 3 ac		publican Red Lion	1881 CEB	1871 CEB: Albert, father, dealer/publican
Lunnis, Mark		PH	PH		publican Bull Inn	1891 CEB	
Orsman, Sarah		Hse, shop	Hse, shop		draper	1871 CEB	See John Orsman, grandfather, 1841, Table 140
Pates, William		Cott	Cott		baker	1910 Kelly	

TABLE 142.--Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Earliest Source Present	Comments
Roberts, Charles	Smithy & shop	Smithy & shop			blacksmith/ wheelwright	1891 CEB	
Robarts, Joseph	Hse & shop	Hse & shop			grocer	1902 Kelly	
Robinson, Arthur Thomas		Hse & shop	Hse & shop		tailor/ postmaster	1871 CEB	1851 CEB, Frederick, father, tailor/draper
Scrase, John		Beerhse, land, 0.5 ac	Beerhse, land, 0.5 ac		Swan Beerhouse	1908 Kelly	
Sell, Richard		Beerhse	Beerhse		beerseller	1910 Domesday	
Thompson, Henry		Beerhse	Beerhse		White Hart Beerhouse	1891 CEB	
Titmuss, Joseph	Beerhse, 0.75 ac	Beerhse, 0.75 ac			beer retailer	1871 CEB	1851 CEB: George, father, wheelwright/beer retailer
Tooley, James Francis	15 Cott, 3 ac	mill, hse, 478 ac	mill, hse, 475 ac	15 cott	mill/ farmer		
Walker, Joseph		PH, 0.75 ac	PH, 0.75 ac		publican Eagle & Child	1902 Kelly	

TABLE 142.---Continued.

Name	Owned	Occupied	Rented	Let Out	Occupation	Earliest Source Present	Comments
Ward, Jesse	0.25 ac	Hse, 0.75 ac	Hse, 0.5 ac		hawker	1910 Domesday	
Whitbread, Albert		Cott	Cott		butcher	1891 CEB	1881 CEB Sarah, mother, grocer
White, James		Beerhse, 0.5 ac	Beerhse, 0.5 ac		Pig & Whistle Beerhouse	1902 Kelly	

Source: Lloyd George 1910 Domesday Survey.

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